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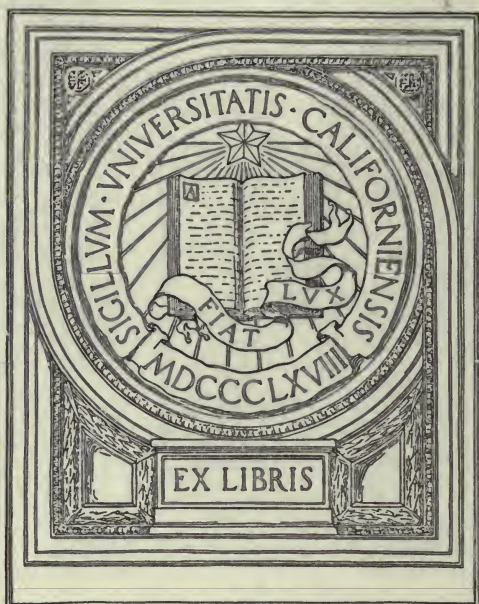
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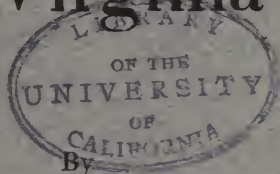
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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

THE ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE

1919

Shakespeare and the Maker
of Virginia



Sir A. W. Ward

Fellow of the Academy

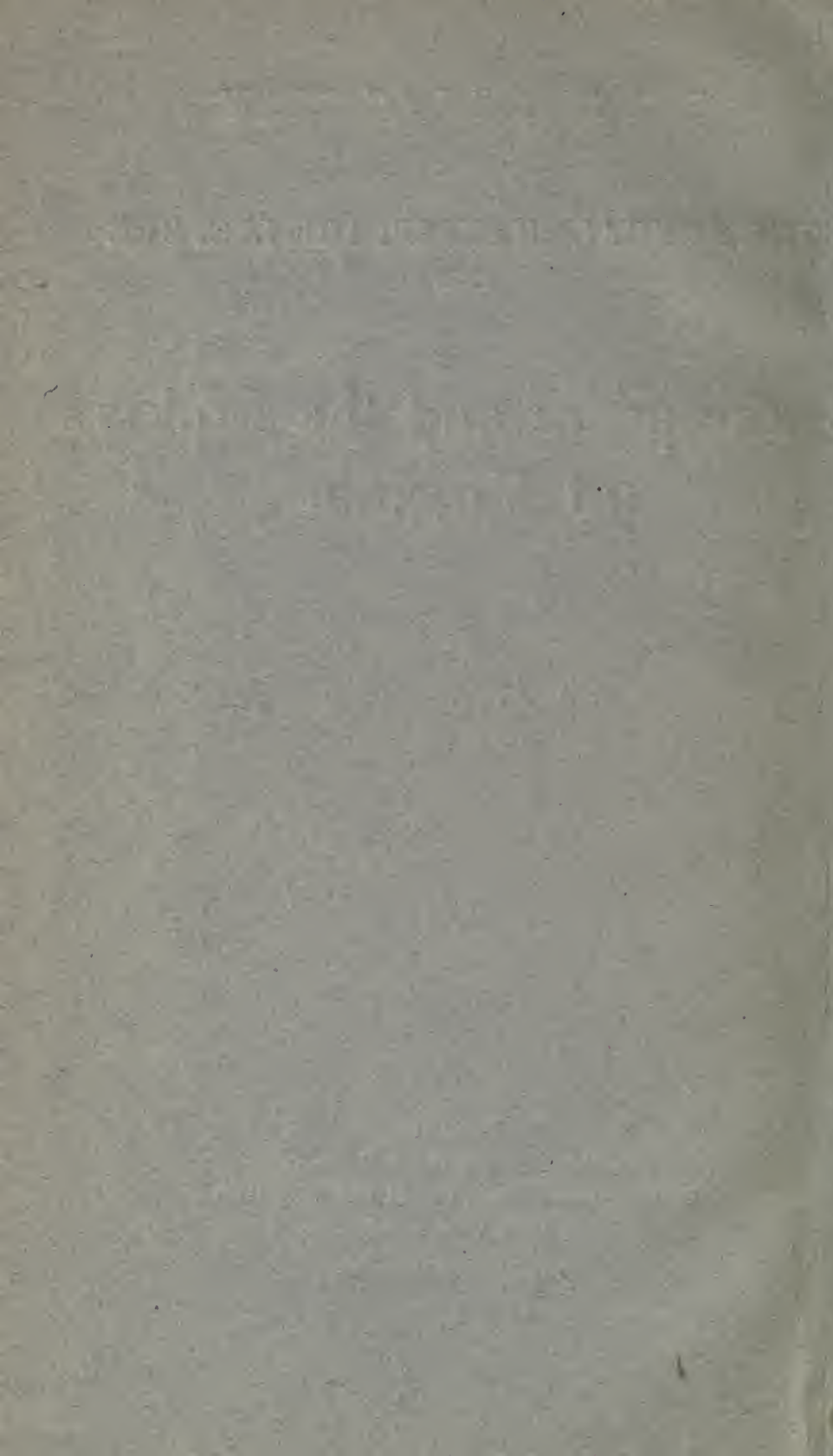
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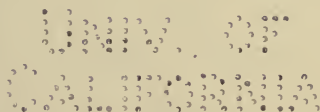
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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA



ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, 1919

SHAKESPEARE AND THE MAKERS OF VIRGINIA

BY SIR A. W. WARD

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read July 3, 1919

WHEN, Mr. President, the Council of the British Academy honoured me with an invitation to deliver this year's Shakespeare Lecture before an audience on whose indulgence I knew I could safely count, and to deliver it on this day, it was not only the proximity of dates which almost inevitably turned my thoughts as to a choice of subject for my address in a particular direction. I do not know that any recent event in the history of this Academy has surpassed in its significance the kindly 'interchange of notes', early in the present year, between our own and the American sister-institution, or that a more legitimate interpretation could be put upon this memorable proceeding than that suggested, Mr. President, in a sentence of your own reply to the pledge of friendship conveyed to us by the American Academy: 'Comradeship in the cause of high ideals must be the best bond of union between nations; and it would be a declension from that high ideal if we allowed disunion ever again to arise between the English-speaking nations.'

Nor—for the months speed quickly—is it very long since, in the friendly Hall where I am speaking, and thanks, I may venture to say to the inspiration of one of its familiars, the Hon. Secretary of this Academy—which has quite recently felt itself honoured by the honour conferred on him by the King—a public meeting applied this axiom in a way specially akin to the purpose of our Annual Shakespeare Lecture. The immediate object of that meeting was the institution of an Annual Shakespeare Day, to be kept as a holiday by all and more especially by the young, both at home and in North America; and the proposal was supported by the presence and the eloquent pleading of the late Dr. Page, then the United States Ambassador to this country, and the descendant of a family of historic renown in Virginia. To Dr. Page, a copy of the Second Folio was, as many of you are aware, presented as a memorial of the

occasion, and at the same time as a token of the widespread admiration and regard entertained for the public services and the personal qualities of the distinguished diplomatist and man of letters whom we have since lost. Through the munificence of Sir Charles Wakefield, our Academy has since, as has been stated to you this afternoon, been enabled to commemorate the Raleigh Tercentenary by administering a Fund singularly adapted for advancing the cooperation of American and English historical scholarship.

One other recent manifestation of this sense of international unity I venture to note, before entering on my immediate theme, to which it seems peculiarly germane. Two years ago, 1917, the Royal Historical Society published a volume of very great interest, introduced by a weighty preface from the hand of our honoured late President, Viscount Bryce, and containing a series of essays by historical scholars of high eminence, commemorating, in connexion with the seven hundredth-anniversary, in 1915, of the grant of our great English Charter at Runnymede. None of these essays, I think, surpassed in value that by a distinguished American jurist, now a member of our Cambridge Professorial Body (Dr. H. D. Hazeltine), who in this paper showed with perfect clearness how 'the growth of the colonies in America meant, from the very beginning, the extension of English institutions and laws to these little Englands across the sea. To their birthright of the English traditions of the sixteenth and earlier centuries was now added the gift of the constitutional and legal principles established in seventeenth-century England.' Thus it came to pass—and this is a feature of English colonial life without a parallel in the history of modern colonization—that 'in the political and constitutional controversy of the colonial period' (of American history) 'the rights of the colonists as Englishmen played a vitally important part'; that 'Magna Carta and other English statutory guarantees of the subject were relied upon as the source of political privilege and civil right'; and that, as Professor Hazeltine told a Cambridge audience last summer, 'from the very beginning of effective colonization in the early seventeenth century, Englishmen in America . . . regarded the English Common Law as their own birthright'; so that 'this incorporation of the English conception of law into colonial thought and practice constitutes one of the most fundamental of all the influences of England upon America'.¹ A genuine and vital connexion of this kind illustrates with supreme force the truth that nations may be united by something beyond their material interests, and goes far to justify

¹ See the essay on *English Influence on American Ideals of Justice and Liberty* in *The America of To-day* (Cambridge, 1919).

us, while deprecating, with Imogen,¹ any desire to exclude other friendly nations from their place in the sun, in resolving that close to our own place shall be and remain that of a people akin to us, not only in blood but in some of the most enduring traditions of our national life.

The critically decisive period of Anglo-American colonization, in which, after a series of earlier attempts had been made and had failed, the first enduring effort to plant what was an English political community as well as a trade-settlement on American soil was, notwithstanding many vicissitudes, at last crowned with success, covers, without much stretch of reckoning, the maturer years of England's and the world's greatest dramatic poet. You will not, I think, object to counting those years from the close of the sixteenth century to 1616. While, therefore, we may fairly, with Professor Hazeltine, regard the grant of the first Virginia Charter in 1606 as marking the real beginning of English settlement in America, and the opening of a new era in the history of colonization in general, we may actually, in this month of July 1919, celebrate the tercentenary of the first meeting of the first Virginian, and the first colonial, representative legislative assembly. In other words, the conceptions which, after a long experience of tests and trials, have endured as the foundations of Anglo-American political life, were developed (I do not say first formed) and put into practice (I do not say fully carried out) by men who were not only compatriots of Shakespeare, but contemporaries of his manhood. In what measure and with what results he was brought into contact with these ideas must be questions requiring careful consideration; but we shall enter upon this with the conviction that one of the most distinctive elements in his genius was his power of observing the mental and moral as well as the material phenomena of the world around him, while another was the power of giving expression, clear and full, to the results of such observation. Whether, in this instance, he was in sympathy with them is a further question; but, even if he consciously stood aside or remained detached from them, that fact, could it be established, would be neither without interest nor without significance.

Those who think with me on these heads will, if they have not already done so, not fail to take up with something more than curiosity, a small volume by Professor C. M. Gayley, of the University of California, bearing the sufficiently comprehensive title of *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*. The book was published at New York in 1917, and was therefore one which the recent war

¹ *Cymbeline*, Act III, sc. 4. I do not know why the origin of the figure should have repeatedly been thought to be found in Pascal.

and its preoccupations made it necessary for most of us to lay aside, so that in its reannouncement it appeals to us with a fresh attractiveness. Professor Gayley is one of those American scholars who at one time outvied, and still kept pace with, our own in the assiduous enthusiasm with which they have sought to rivet one of the strongest of the bonds between the old country and the new—the study of our common literature and language; and his labours (with which he has done some of us over here the honour of occasionally associating us) are honourably known to all who prize the literary masterpieces of our race. His present essay was, therefore, sure of a welcome here, while he will find few of us to differ from his general conclusion, as unfolded in his concluding chapter: that, whatever debt the North-American colonies may have incurred elsewhere in the achievement of their destinies, the seed of the principles which assured their political freedom was sown at home in England. But while we shall readily accept the view that the influence of political ideas familiar, in essence as in germ, to the later years of Elizabeth and the early Stewart age, had an important liberating effect upon early Anglo-American political life, we must proceed with more caution with regard to the special thesis which this work was written to uphold. Its purport is, in brief, that these political ideas, after finding their most pregnant expression in the masterpiece of Hooker, were, largely by his teaching, infused into the minds of a group of English politicians whom Mr. Gayley—I confess I cannot discover on what authority—calls ‘the Patriots’, but who may be more safely described as constituting the Opposition during the reign of our first Stewart King, and who were eminently instrumental in ‘making’ Virginia, by securing to the colony to which that name was ultimately restricted a broad basis of political life. This demonstration is coupled—and here we reach the point in the argument, which seems to me to render it specially suitable for your consideration to-day—with a further attempt to show that these ideas and principles, largely in consequence of Shakespeare’s personal relations with the politicians in question (or some of them), found their way into his own mind and writings.

It may be well, before discussing these twin propositions, to remind you of certain pertinent facts in the early history of the Company with some of whose leading members and their friends we are concerned. In what follows, full advantage has been taken of the indefatigable labours of Mr. Alexander Brown, upon which, indeed, the historical data of Mr. Gayley’s volume are avowedly based. His *Genesis of the United States*, accompanied by an extremely useful biographical appendix, is a *magnum opus* of its kind, and forms a tribute of rare completeness to the heroes of early

Virginian history. For authentic information as to the proceedings of the Virginia Company during the eventful eighteen years of its chartered life, divided into the Guelf and Ghibelline periods of the Thomas Smith and the Sandys-Southampton *régimes*, the historical student will turn to the *Records* of the Company, sumptuously edited from the Manuscript in the Library of Congress, which they had reached by a strange Odyssey, after being transcribed in just apprehension of the danger menacing them by the far-sighted care of Nicholas Ferrar; the 'Ferrar papers' at Magdalene College, Cambridge; and the 'Manchester' papers in the Public Record Office. Miss Kingsbury's monumental edition is prefaced by Professor Osgood, whose own *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* may claim to be considered a standard work in the entire subject of which my address to-night only touches a section; while Mr. Newton's admirably written *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans* treats its final phase (the history of the Providence Company). On the other hand, Professor W. R. Scott's remarkable work on *British Joint Stock Companies*, though ranging over a far wider field than we have at present in contemplation, and conducting an exceedingly complex inquiry with close attention to the varying conditions of its several parts, discusses that section of it which concerns the Virginia Company with masterly conciseness, and may serve as a welcome guide through more discursive methods of treatment. As to the general bearing of this chapter of colonial upon the progress of English political life in general, Gardiner's standard work, to which I like to appeal in these walls, and which has just undergone the test of a searching critical estimate from an able American pen, is not likely to be left neglected.

I pass by, as of no immediate significance for our theme, the earlier projects for, and attempts at, American colonization, which, from Humphrey Gilbert's Limehouse schemes onwards, were inextricably mixed up with privateering designs against the Spaniards, and, in one instance at all events, with a devout design of 'planting religion beyond the seas'. After the tragic breakdown of Raleigh's more systematic scheme, in 1587, in which Thomas Smith, afterwards Treasurer of the London Virginian Company, had a share (you may peradventure hear more of these designs when Lord Bryce favours us with the Inaugural Raleigh Lecture in the autumn) there was a pause; and, when you call to mind that the Armada sailed in 1588, this is not surprising. Thus it was not till 1602 that a new series of voyages of 'discovery' directed themselves towards the northern coasts of what was then called Virginia, and commanded successively by Bartholomew Gisnold, Martin Pring, and George

Weymouth. Raleigh (who did not regard his rights under the charter which he had obtained in 1584 as extinct) approved of some and even ventured a ship in one of them; but the whole series was financed by the Earl of Southampton, whose name thus early connects itself with the history of the New World, and a syndicate of other distinguished personages, with most of whom we shall meet again. The last of these discoverers, George Weymouth, returned home in July 1605, bringing with him five native Indians, 'which accident', according to Sir Ferdinando Gorges—in his day both a participant in Raleigh's Guiana expedition and a Cavalier in the Great Civil War—'must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to our plantation'. (Ever since the sojourn in England—some eleven years later—of poor Pokahontas, the stimulus of setting eyes upon a native, though below the rank of a princess, has proved a distinct aid to colonizing enterprise.) More to the point, however, is the remark of the same gallant adventurer that the peace with Spain, concluded in the year 1604, was 'the means'—as he again piously phrases it, 'under God'—of making possible an English settlement of which Spain still, for many a long day, contested the sovereignty. You know, of course, in what capacity Shakespeare was concerned in the Peace Conference which preceded the ratification of the treaty. He belonged to the retinue ordered to wait upon the Spanish plenipotentiary, the Constable of Castile, in one of the rooms occupied by whom in Somerset House King James had caused to be affixed, for the benefit no doubt of the ambassador rather than of his attendants, a tablet inscribed *Beati pacifici*—upon which device we are not, as the French ambassador seems to have thought himself, called upon to put any ulterior interpretation. The Spaniards signed, but the state of Anglo-Spanish relations overseas survived to trouble the soul of Oliver Cromwell.¹

The period was, in England, already one of colonizing efforts which sought to ensure lasting success by means of an organization

¹ Mention of the attendance of Shakespeare's Company as Grooms of the Chamber at Somerset House was first made by Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips in the *Athenæum* (July 8, 1871), and then in his *Outlines* (first printed 1881). The authenticating statement had been lost, but it was afterwards found in the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, by Mrs. Stopes and Mr. Ernest Law, in each case independently. Mrs. Stopes first published the discovery in a letter to the *Athenæum*, March 12, 1910 (reprinted in her *Shakespeare's Industry* (1916), pp. 275-6). Mr. Law had discovered the source in July, 1907, but had not published it before the appearance of his *Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber* in 1910, after the date of Mrs. Stopes's letter. As to the Conference, see also Mr. Law's letter to *The Sphere*, May 3, 1913. He informs me that the *Beati Pacifici* tablet is still preserved in an old house at Rousley, Derbyshire.

connecting them directly with the support and authority of the Crown. The first Charter for Virginia—of which the date is 1606, six years after that of the first Charter of the great East India Company—was in part the work of the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, but as a whole it seems to have been drafted by Chief Justice Sir John Popham, who plays a most conspicuous part in the history of the Virginia Company, and whose name is one of those connecting its annals with those of the Middle Temple, of which he was long Treasurer. ‘In this famous document’, in Professor Hazeltine’s words, ‘the King not only claimed the right to colonize a large portion of the territory of the New World; but’—and this is the feature to which special attention should be directed in connexion with our more immediate theme—‘the principle was also asserted that English colonists in this territory were to enjoy the same constitutional rights as those possessed by Englishmen in the homeland.’ The recipients of the grants were two bodies of adventurers, the one resident in London, and including Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and, a little later, Sir Thomas Smith; the other, in which Chief Justice Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges took a most active interest, located at Plymouth. By the advice of Richard Hakluyt (whose name, though he was in Orders, again associates itself with the Middle Temple) the London Company planted a colony at Jamestown; the fortunes of the Plymouth Company, both before and after the failure of its settlement at Sagadahoc, and the rechristening of Northern Virginia as New England, lie outside our theme, though you are aware of their—I had almost said transcendant—interest for students of Anglo-American history.

Turning, therefore, south, we content ourselves with noticing that the early operations of the London Virginia Company were little more than tentative, and carried on under continuous apprehension of the action of the Spanish Government, stimulated as it was by the vigilance of King Philip’s ambassador in London, Zuñiga, to whom the reported heretical encroachments were gall and wormwood, and who lacked his successor Gondomar’s suavity of temper or manners. The slender array of settlers sent out by the Company shrank rapidly; and the appeals made in London on their behalf hung fire. In 1608 appeared the celebrated *True Relation* by Captain John Smith, who had been the actual leader of the colony almost from its outset—he liked the epithet ‘true’, and, if he has been charged with not always practising the virtue in question, it was certainly to him that the survival of the colony in its birth-throes was mainly due. In the same year, 1608, a sermon was delivered at Whitehall by Mr. Symonds,

Preacher at St. Saviour's in Southwark, with whose powers in the pulpit, as the vigilant Professor Gayley says, 'Shakespeare may very well have been acquainted'. Other literary or oratorical efforts kept up the awakened public interest at home; and it was soon recognized by the leading spirits of the enterprise, that, in the first place, a concentrated effort was necessary for a permanent settlement in the mild climate of Southern Virginia and in the advantageous strategical position on the banks of the James river; and, secondly, that the system of government adopted for the colony needed a thorough revision. Hence the Second Charter of 1609, whereby the London Virginia Company acquired many, though not all, of the powers hitherto reserved to the Crown; so that, although the community of colonists in Virginia itself became possessed of no considerable share of rights, the political control of the colony passed, in a large measure, to the proprietary Company, now a body consisting of 56 city companies and 659 noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, acting through its Council, which the Third Charter, of 1612, gave the Company express authority to elect. Thus, during the remaining thirteen years of its existence, the Virginia Company was a body in which liberalizing tendencies found full play for their efforts to contend, in an unflinching struggle, with conservative instincts; and this statement may be fairly said to summarize the main part of the history of the Company, and of the Sandys-Southampton party within it, whose long campaign in this narrower sphere anticipated or accompanied that which the same men conducted on the floor of Parliament.

Before, however, I try to illustrate the significance of this campaign by the few personal references for which I shall find time, I must carry you back for a moment, in what I think will not be considered as altogether a digression, to the year 1609, the year of the Second Charter. With a view to the contemplated enlargement of the colony an expedition was sent out early in June of that year, with Sir Thomas Gates, the designated 'sole and absolute governor', accompanied by Sir George Somers as admiral, and Captain Newport, long familiar with these voyages, as vice-admiral. Unfortunately, though grave objection had been made to the circuitous route by the West Indies, the expedition, consisting of not less than nine vessels carrying about five hundred intending planters, and bearing with it the document of the new Charter, took Newport's old route. Sixteen days after the ships' final start from Falmouth—in the words of Captain Argall, who had not long before safely reached Virginia by a shorter route—a 'most horrible and vehement storme, which

was a taile of the West Indian *horucano*,¹ drove the fleet upon the islands of the Bermudas (alias Bermoothawes, alias the *Isle of Divels*, alias, from their first claimant, though not discoverer, the Somers Islands). The admiral's ship, the *Sea Venture*, was wrecked; nor did Gates and Somers reach Jamestown till May, 1610. Here they found the colony on the brink of dissolution, from which, however, it was preserved by the speedy arrival of Lord Delaware, chosen as Governor, we are told, for his rank, and apparently one of those solid English noblemen to whose imperturbability the State has more than once had safe recourse in critical moments of our history. Through him William Crashaw, Preacher at the Temple,¹ 'sent salutation to Virginia: thou hast thy name from the worthiest Queen that the world ever had; thou hast thy substance from the greatest King on earth.' Soon after Lord Delaware had taken over the governorship of the colony, Sir Thomas Gates sailed for England.

Without taking a side plunge into the question of the origin of *The Tempest*, 'still-vext' like the 'Bermoothes' themselves, we may agree with Professor Gayley that there is but one explanation possible of the parallelism of phrase between Shakespeare's play and the *True and Sincere Declaration of the Estate of the Colony* (entered November 1610). This document was founded partly on Gates's own report to the Virginian Council, but mainly on letters, then unpublished, which had been sent home from the colony. The author of the pamphlet and the dramatist must, alike, have had access to a letter so sent home by William Strachey, a survivor of the wreck, and secretary at Jamestown under both Gates and Lord Delaware.² Unless, then, we are to accept Mr. Rudyard Kipling's genial conjecture that Shakespeare derived his 'extensive and peculiar' knowledge of the details of the shipwreck, as narrated by Strachey, from a tipsy seaman, who must have conveyed it largely in the diction used both by the official and the poet, we must accept Mr. Gayley's well-argued

¹ William Crashaw, a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was the father of the more celebrated Richard, fellow of Peterhouse; but his theological views were directly contrary to those of the poet.

² Strachey's letter, addressed to 'an excellent Lady in England' (identified by Mr. Gayley with Lady Howard de Walden), was not made public till 1625, when, after the dissolution of the Company, it was brought out by Hakluyt in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. The official dispatch drawn up for the use of the Governor Lord Delaware by Strachey a few days before he indited this private letter coincides with it in its account of the condition of the colony and of the remedies required by it, but does not touch upon the shipwreck. This dispatch, which removes any doubt that might have existed as to the authenticity of Strachey's information, remained in MS. till 1849.

conclusion, which, by the way, had previously suggested itself to two previous commentators on *The Tempest*, Professor Herbert E. Greene and Mr. Morton Luce. If so, how did Shakespeare obtain a sight of Strachey's letter? That Shakespeare was more or less in touch with certain prominent members of the Virginia Company, we shall find no difficulty in allowing Mr. Gayley's book to have succeeded in proving. Might not, then, the 'Excellent Lady' to whom Strachey's letter was addressed have shown it to some of the most active among them—perhaps to Southampton's foremost colleague, Sandys, and might he not have shown it to Shakespeare? Possibly.

The connexion of England and her trade with the Bermudas began by the wrecking of the ship commanded by Sir George Somers in 1609 commemorated in Shakespeare's *Tempest*.¹ A scheme was soon afterwards put on foot for erecting a fort on one of the islands, so as to leave the Virginians no longer dependent on supplies from home. The settlement, which it was at first intended to call Virginiola, was finally named the Somers Islands, and the design was to place it under the control of a subsidiary or under-company. But the scheme did not work, and though the Charter of 1612 attempted to unite the two bodies organically, a distinct corporation was soon afterwards founded for the proprietorship of the Somers Islands. The two companies henceforth worked independently, though concurrently; but many of the most important members of the Virginia Company, notably Sandys and his associates, were also members of the Somers Islands Company, which survived its elder sister for nearly half a century. I could not pass it by here, in view of the Shakespearean associations of its origin; but its later experiences, interesting as they are, lie beyond the range of these notes.

In Virginia, the prospects of the Colony there had at last begun to improve with the arrival of Lord Delaware, whose place was, however, soon taken by Sir Thomas Dale, transferred to this service from that of the United Provinces in the capacity of Marshal. One of the most important measures introduced by this vigorous administrator was a change (to which we shall have to refer again) made by him, manifestly with the support of what I have gone so far as to call the liberalizing party in the London Virginia Council, in the system of land-tenure, which could not but greatly affect the future of the community. Hitherto, land had been cultivated on the system of joint ownership, with which that of common trade went hand in hand; now, three acres of land were assigned to every settler as his property. The reform was fostered by Sir Thomas Gates, when he

¹ I am informed that the descendants of Admiral Somers 'still stick to the sea', and that two of them were lost in the recent war.

returned as Governor later in the year 1611, with large supplies; and henceforth no breach occurred in the prosperity of the colony, which was again ruled with firmness and ability by Dale, the founder of Henrico, from 1614 to the year after which Shakespearean allusions are impossible.

But the critical epoch, in the very midst of which falls the date of Shakespeare's death, was full of effort on the part of the London Council of Virginia and the friends of the enterprise at home. In 1610, both parties in the Council—the city interest as represented by Sir Thomas Smith and the nobility and gentry, who might be called the nucleus of the country party in the House of Commons, headed by Southampton and Sandys—united in what was perhaps their most stirring public appeal. It asked for a sum of not less than £30,000 to bring about 'a very able and strong foundation of annexing another Kingdom'—not merely province—'to the Crown'; and it did not omit to dwell on the desire of the promoters of the enterprise to 'spread the Gospel among the Heathen people of Virginia'. And in March, 1612, as already mentioned, followed the Third Charter, presenting an army of adventurers in unprecedented impressiveness (the merchants, it appears, paid up better than the country gentry), and, as observed, considerably extending the Company's rights of control over the affairs of the settlement. Although, in accordance with the practice of the times, the Company had claimed and obtained the right of instituting lotteries for its benefit, and although there may have been adventitious occasions for causing Virginia and its affairs to become the subject about this time of London talk, yet there is abundant evidence in contemporary literature, including that of the stage, that by this time the first American colony was exciting something more than speculative attention or idle curiosity.

In 1612 occurred the death of Henry Prince of Wales, who had taken a special interest in the fortunes of the new colony. Henrico town, with Henrico county (a designation familiar to readers of *The Virginians*) had been named after him—the names of his father, and of his younger brother, and of his sister the Princess Elizabeth (the student of Raleigh) likewise at one time or another, found topographical commemoration there. In his *Epicedium on the young Marcellus of England*, Chapman took occasion to refer to the Bermudas catastrophe as 'less melting for all men' than the death of 'our poor Prince'. I need not detain you on the question whether *The Tempest* itself, which was one of those plays performed at the wedding of the Palsgrave and the Princess Elizabeth on St. Valentine's

day, 1613, was written for that occasion, or, as seems more likely, was first produced in 1611, but cast in its final form for the nuptials of 1613, with the Masque in Act IV added.¹ In any case, it seems far-fetched to regard Gonzalo's description (Act II, sc. 7) of the Utopia which he would find in the island were he king of it as alluding to the state of things in Virginia, before Dale's land-reform. The fancy as a whole is, as you know, taken from Florio's *Montaigne*, and calls for no particular application of the kind. Another passage in *The Tempest* (Act II, sc. 2) has, with far greater probability, been thought (by Sir Sidney Lee²) to refer to early Virginian experiences—viz. Caliban's jubilant boast when he believes himself to have shaken off Prospero's yoke: 'No more dams I'll make for fish.' By way of contrast, one further Virginian reference of much the same date may be cited from the heights of political literature. Although Bacon's essay *Of Plantations* was revised for publication a decade later, it may fairly be assumed to have been originally written near this time; and its author cannot have been a stranger to some of the broadsides issued by the London Virginia Council for public consumption. In it is to be found a (not very clear) reference to the risk of the overplanting in Virginia of tobacco, which was introduced there in 1606.³ What is of more interest to us, Bacon's essay, in view no doubt of the benefits which had accrued to Virginia from the strong rule of Dale and Gates, dwells on the expediency of placing the government of a *new* colony in the hands of *one* man, 'assisted with some counsel'; while, though 'speedy profit is not to be neglected' (we seem to know the sound of such words), neither is it to be sought beyond what may 'stand with the good of the plantation'. Above all, it is 'the simplest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness'.

The great crisis in the history of Virginia happened after Shake-

¹ On the whole question see Sir A. Quiller-Couch, *Shakespeare's Workmanship* (1918), pp. 337 ff. It seems hardly possible, by the way, that if *The Tempest* was expressly written for the royal wedding, the name chosen for the lover in the play should have been that of the Habsburg Archduke whom the Palsgrave was before long to eject from the Bohemian throne. (M. Koch, I may add, conjectures the original of the noble-minded Prospero to have been the alchemist Emperor Rudolf II, at whose court several Englishmen sojourned before, like Prospero, he was overthrown by the machinations of his brother.)

² *Life of William Shakespeare* (ed. 1915), p. 433, note.

³ King James I's *Counterblast*, as Mr. Alexander Brown particularly reminds us, was dated 1604, and could therefore not have been directed against *Virginian* tobacco.

spere's death; but we can hardly speak of the political principles at work in the English colonisation of America in his later years, without carrying our very imperfect references to early Virginian history a little further. Although, in 1613, Gondomar still indulged the hope that Virginia would be abandoned by the English, who in this and the following year had much jealousy to confront on the part of France as well as of Spain, the colony maintained its existence successfully against foreign pretensions and protests. Meanwhile, the Company would have been willing to see a closer union between its interests and those of the State, and in May 1614 petitioned the House of Commons in this sense. But, though an extremely lively debate ensued, the Parliament—it was the Addled Parliament, which, as is known, in spite of the efforts of Sandys and the Opposition, did not succeed in passing a single measure—had to let the matter drop. In 1616, as already noted, the cultivation of tobacco was introduced, and a ‘mania’ on this head ensued, which had disastrous results. But at the root of the retardation of enduring commercial prosperity lay Government corruption, carried to a shameless extent by Samuel Argall, who was Governor from 1617 to 1619. This unscrupulous profiteer carried out Bacon’s advice as to ‘one-man government’ after so thorough a fashion that he had in the end to escape to England in a vessel of his patron Sir Robert Rich (afterwards Earl of Warwick), of whom more anon; and in July of the same year, 1619, as already stated, the first Virginian Legislative Assembly—the first Colonial Parliament—was summoned by his successor.

Closely connected with these transactions was the critical conflict in the Company at home between the party of Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the Company from 1609 to 1619, the representative of the City interest and on good terms with the Court, and Sir Edwin Sandys, who had led the Parliamentary Opposition to it almost from the beginning of James I’s reign, with Warwick’s clique intervening, but in the end returning into the conservative bosom. Sandys’s election in 1619 to the contested office of Treasurer marked the progress of the policy of Resistance in this sphere, also, of public life—in 1620, when his name was up for re-election, King James had advised a deputation, ‘choose the Devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys’, and he had deemed it politic to allow the name of Southampton to be substituted for his own. But the conflict between the Virginia Company and the claims of the Crown continued, till in 1624 the struggle, both within the Company and without, came to an end with the dissolution of that body by royal *fiat*. But the constitutional liberties of the Colony, with their latest development into parlia-

mentary institutions, could not be taken away; and proved, as the history of North America shows, a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί*.

It is high time for us to pass on to say something of the personal claims to commemoration, as champions of the principles in question in their application to Virginia, of those individual Englishmen of note whose influence on Shakespeare's political thought—exercised directly by them or through the great teacher of the foremost among them—Professor Gayley's book is more especially designed to demonstrate. In speaking of this memorable group, I feel bound to premise that, notwithstanding his close personal as well as public connexion with at least one of its earlier leaders, Essex cannot in any true sense be regarded as a member of it. Apart from his hatred of the ascendancy of Spain, and certain ideas of foreign policy which he may have derived from Anthony Bacon or from his great brother, he showed himself in no way a harbourer of political designs, or still less, a master of political thought. I may therefore relegate to a note some remarks on his relations to the Puritans, and as to the use made, on the occasion of his brief and ill-starred 'rebellion', of Shakespeare's *Richard II*.¹ As for the political opinions expressed,

¹ If the Puritans at one stage of Essex's career cherished hopes of him (as they had of his step-father Leicester) and if, at another, these hopes were heightened by the report that he was 'hearing sermons', it must be remembered that, though on the scaffold he declared himself a Protestant, and though at his trial the charge of his having worked for the restoration of Romanism in Ireland was, virtually, passed by, he was certainly shown to have intended, had he achieved success, to improve the treatment of Roman Catholics in that kingdom. In any case, in spite of certain assurances of support from Puritan ministers, his rising left the citizens of London cold. Equally ineffective had been the curious appeal set on foot by himself and his immediate followers to the 'constitutional' or anti-despotic sentiments of his expected adherents, whom we may conclude to have been, in the first instance, persons of his own rank or condition of life—the natural patrons of the players.

The fact is, of course, well authenticated that, two days before the outbreak of Essex's rebellion, his supporters attended at the Globe Theatre a performance of Shakespeare's *Richard II* specially bespoken by them. The historical parallel between the unfortunate King and Queen Elizabeth was hardly striking enough to suggest of itself the inference that she ought to be deposed like him. The notion was no doubt originally due to the publication, in 1599, of Sir John Hayward's narrative of the first year of the reign of Henry IV, which included an account of the deposition of Richard II, and was dedicated to Essex. The episode is said to have exercised a peculiar fascination upon him; and it was no doubt thus, and not only because of the sensitiveness which (as Professor Firth recently showed you) she shared with other sovereigns of her age towards attacks of the sort on the throne, that her suspicions were excited, and that she was led to observe: 'Know ye not? I am Richard II.' The book caused much talk, and, though Essex wished it to be called in, the author was called before the Star Chamber and imprisoned. (Hayward, as Sir Sidney Lee notes in his interesting

or thought to be expressed, in Shakespeare's tragedy, which is said to have at this time gone through forty performances 'in open streets and houses', I will say a word below.¹

But the name of Essex's paladin-in-chief, Southampton, as it were, takes us at once into the heart of the argument, and bids us consider both the association between the parliamentary and the colonial Liberalism of the period comprising Shakespeare's later years, and the inspiration drawn by this political group or school from a source to which Shakespeare, too, is held to have resorted. On both heads some note will have to be taken of what there is of external, and what of internal, evidence.

In the case of Southampton, of whose intimate relations with Shakespeare at one time of their lives no doubt can exist, we are unfortunately without any proof of intellectual intercourse between them in the later period with which we are here more especially concerned. In Elizabeth's reign Southampton had been a prominent figure at Court, and smiled upon by the Queen, the foremost favourite of whose later years had, in his turn, consistently shown good-will to the younger man. Southampton accompanied Essex on his expeditions to Cadiz (1596) and the Azores (1597), and sought, though in vain, to be allowed to serve as general of the horse under him in Ireland. He then took part in the conspiracy which brought his friend to the scaffold and consigned himself to prison. Before this, Southampton's patronage of letters and of the stage had been among the most brilliant attributes of this *flos inventutis* of the Elizabethan age, when at the height of its splendour. His relations with Shakespeare are familiar to all students of our literature, and I am not afraid to set it down as an accepted conclusion that, whatever interpretation may be put upon these relations, they inspired the majority of the *Sonnets*. The remark of Mrs. Stopes,² that, after the commence-

article on him in the *Dictionary of N. B.*, afterwards defended both the succession and the political principles of James I, and was a distinguished pleader as well as historiographer at Chelsea College.)

¹ With regard to Shakespeare's relations to Essex, it is more to the purpose, though it cannot, intrinsically, be held of much significance, that, in 1599, the dramatist had in his *Henry V* (Chorus of Act V), touched on the enthusiastic welcome which London was prepared to accord to Essex on his victorious return from Ireland. Still less weight need be attached to the probability that the popular sensation caused by the arrest and execution, in 1594, of the Jewish physician Roderigo Lopez, charged with having been concerned in a plot to poison Queen Elizabeth and Essex's Spanish *protégé*, Antonio Perez, suggested to Shakespeare the character of Shylock, and even the Christian name of the Jew's intended victim.

² *Shakespeare's Environment* (1914), p. 158. We are looking forward to a full *Life of Southampton* from the same distinguished writer.

ment, in 1595, of Southampton's absorbing passion for Elizabeth Vernon (whom he married three years later) 'the Sonnets gradually ceased. . . . None seem to suggest his voyages, knighthood, marriage and subsequent imprisonment' must surely, notwithstanding her *caveat*, be modified on the last head, since *Sonnet CVII* can hardly be dissociated from Southampton's release. But, though we have no reason for assuming a break in Shakespeare's attachment to the only patron to whom he dedicated any of his productions or who, in his turn, is known to have extended to the poet any notable munificence, we are ignorant as to the relations between them in the days of Southampton's maturity.

After his release from confinement on the accession of King James in 1603, Southampton's wayward temper (he was under arrest in the Tower for a few days in the same year for breaking 'the peace of the palace') seemed to show that maturity not to have yet quite set in. But soon, under the continued sunshine of the royal favour, he gave proof of his interest in public affairs, and showed a special interest in the colonial schemes which formed the earliest, or preliminary, stage in the making of the British Empire.¹ As a matter of course he was, from first to last, the staunch advocate of a resolute anti-Spanish policy; and in 1605, the year after that in which peace had been signed with Spain, helped to fit out the early expedition, already noted, of Captain Weymouth to Virginia, almost the first sign of a systematic endeavour to supplant the Spanish dominion in North America.² Southampton who, with at least virtual consistency,³ treated opposition to Spain as a vital element

¹ It is about this date that one of the most attractive among the numerous extant portraits of Southampton, that in St. John's College, Cambridge, seems to belong, which shows him encased in armour, blue-eyed, and fair-haired, in the commanding grace of early manhood.

² For a long time, Spain could make a strong point of the fact (which Gondomar did not fail to urge) that her territory was being invaded by English adventurers without any warrant from their own Government. Not until the Virginian Charter was annulled and the colony taken under the direct protection of the Crown, was this argument unavoidably abandoned. But by this time (1624) England was again at war with Spain. As Mr. Brown points out, every member of the Council of War (in April 1624) was personally interested in the colony of Virginia.

³ Southampton's scheme of a naval expedition against the Barbary pirates, which for its success would have needed the collaboration of England and Spain was, in Gondomar's opinion, really meant to bring about a reopening of hostilities between them, together with the appointment of Southampton himself as Lord High Admiral in place of Nottingham. (Cf. Gardiner, *History of England*, &c., ed. 1883, Vol. III, p. 70.) Gondomar, it may be incidentally noted, who for diplomatic or other reasons, observed a very gallant bearing to the ladies

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in the national policy, likewise shared in the detestation of Rome, which, in the popular mind, was inseparable from hatred of Spain. We have it on the authority of Peckard, in his *Memoir of Nicholas Ferrar* (of whose connexion with the Virginia Company, immediately) that 'the Earl of Southampton had been converted from popery by Sir Edwin Sandys'. The advancement of the Protestant faith was constantly present to the Virginian adventurers, and so early as 1617 Sandys himself was in at least indirect communication with the Leyden separatists,¹ as a result of whose settlement New England was in the end to set up an ecclesiastical system of its own. But this is a side of colonial history which I must abstain from pursuing. As for Southampton, we shall probably be right in attributing a mainly political motive to his colonizing activity, although the promptings of religious opinion may have cooperated.²

With his later political career we have here no concern, except in so far as it was associated with the colonial enterprise in which he took a leading part. (His name was given to Southampton Hundred, Hampton River, and Hampton Roads in Virginia.³) In 1612, when he came up to town with the intention of furthering Sir Henry Neville's chances of the Secretaryship, he and his friends were disappointed in their hopes, and had to remain members of what may be loosely called the Opposition. At all events, although Southampton received divers honours and offices from the Crown, he preserved considerable freedom in the way of giving vent to his personal views. While, in Bacon's case, he showed himself stern against maculate merit, he refused to bow his head to the ascendancy of Buckingham. He braved the King's displeasure by his open defiance of the favourite, and by his independent action in the affairs of the Elector Palatine Frederick, and was once more committed to prison. Three years later (1624), he died from malaria in the Low Countries, soon after his eldest son, when in joint command with him of a troop of English volunteers in aid of the Elector.

of the English Court, and (as I think I have read) professed a liking for the wines prepared in this country, is also said to have been a reader of Shakespeare, or at least to have possessed a copy of the First Folio, which he carried away with him into Spain.

¹ See Osgood, *The American Colonies*, &c., Vol. I, p. 105.

² So late as 1623 he absented himself from a meeting of the Privy Council, held for the purpose of exacting an oath against penalizing Catholics according to law; but he seems in the end to have agreed to take it. (Cf. Gardiner, Vol. V, p. 69, and note.)

³ See 'The Youthful Career of Southampton' in Sir S. Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 663.

Southampton, after becoming a member of the London Virginia Council in 1609, had, by the end of ten years, come to share with his friend Sandys the full control of it. In 1620 he was chosen Treasurer of the Company without opposition, when it may still have been hoped that he would be of great assistance in inducing the King to lend ear to the desires or complaints of the Council. But at that time the conflicts between the King and the political party to which Southampton and his friends belonged were growing more and more bitter, and it was against the royal wish that he was re-elected Treasurer in 1624, the year of his death and that of the annulment of the Virginian Charter.

With Southampton there cooperated in the Council of the Company two other noblemen whose names have an indelible connexion with that of Shakespeare. Of the brothers William and Philip Herbert, successively Earls of Pembroke, the former had served under Essex at Cadiz, but, unlike Southampton, took no part in the rising of 1601. He was much interested in Virginian affairs, and in 1620 (when both the brothers also joined the New England Company) patented not less than 30,000 acres in Virginia, which the elder undertook to fill with emigrants and cattle. The younger, known before his brother's death as Earl of Montgomery, whose course of action, whether it be called politic or selfish, in the Civil War times drew down upon him the furious hatred of the Cavaliers,¹ was likewise a member of the Virginian Council, and, so late as 1643, when he had definitively thrown in his lot with the adversaries of the Crown, was one of the Commissioners appointed for the government of the Plantation. The brothers' patronage of Shakespeare and of his friends and colleagues, as evinced by the dedication to them of the First Folio, and by the reference in that Dedication, to the 'likings' they had expressed for the 'severall parts when they were acted', and to the 'indulgence' they had shown to their author, of course invest their names with high literary interest. At the same time, the theory that William Herbert was the 'begetter' of the *Sonnets* may be regarded as extinct, and it should be noted that his official relations with Shakespeare did not begin till 1615, when he was appointed Lord Chamberlain; so that the patronage of the brothers was, almost certainly, of an essentially private nature. We know that, at the turn of the century, Pembroke resided in a mansion near to Blackfriars, and that he was the patron of other

¹ Cf. the grossly satirical *Last Will and Testament of the Earl of Pembroke*, printed in the posthumous works of Mr. Samuel Butler, Vol. II, London, 1715, but, so far as I am aware, of doubtful authorship.

poets besides Shakespeare—of Jonson and Chapman, and among non-dramatic poets, of the noble *trifolium* of Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan.

Southampton's imprisonment in the Tower for his participation in Essex's rising was shared by Sir Henry Neville, already mentioned, who, from 1607 to 1615, was a member of the Virginia Council. Other political allies of Southampton, for the most part his juniors in date of birth, and all of them interested in the Virginia Company, were Sir Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the patron of Jonson and Drayton, in the works of both of whom references to Virginia are to be found;¹ Lord Delaware, whose services to the colony at the most critical moment of its earlier history have been already noticed, and, among counsel learned in the law, Christopher Brooke of Lincoln's Inn and John Selden, who together drafted several of the later codes of law and government adopted by the colony. Christopher Brooke's figure is a prominent one in the fields, then still most intimately connected, of law and literature, and his *Ghost of Richard III* offers one of the most whole-hearted contemporary tributes offered to the genius of Shakespeare from outside his own profession. As for Selden, who was not less actively interested in politics, ecclesiastical and general, than he was in legal science, his Liberalism was of all time, and the play of mind distinctive of him could not have omitted the future of England's colonial empire from his speculations.

Another legal and literary notable in the Company was Sir Dudley Digges, who gave his services to the Company during the greater part of the second and third decades of the century, and between whom and Shakespeare at least an indirect connexion is suggested by

¹ Jonson was joint author of the unlucky *Eastward Hoe*, played before King James in 1604, in which figures Sir Petronell Flash, 'the first of a long and illustrious line of Virginian colonels', whom Mr. Brown (I do not know on what evidence) conjectures to have been impersonated by Shakespeare. In his *Staple of News* (1625) there is a joke about Pokahontas (Act II, sc. 1). Drayton was Shakespeare's countryman by birth, and according to tradition was, like Jonson, his boon companion to the last. By means of his *Ode to the Virginian Voyage*, he, in Mr. Gayley's phrase, 'crowned himself laureate of the new English world'. Mr. Gayley has an interesting passage on the allusions in our poetic literature to Virginia and early American colonization, of which the most striking is the quasi-prophetic eulogy of James I in the last scene of *Henry VIII* (acted at the Globe in 1613, and acted once too often), which passage, however, he, no doubt rightly, assigns to Fletcher. He adds that the figure of tree and shade, of course biblical in its origin, also occurs in the Virginian Council's *True and Sincere Declaration* of December 1609, as to which see *ante*. It is not found in Strachey's long descriptive letter printed in 1625, and reprinted in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchase his Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), Vol. XIX.

the tributes by Sir Dudley's brother Leonard, the poet and Spanish scholar, inserted in the 1623 Folio, and in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*. On the interest taken in Virginia by Bacon I have already touched, without drawing any Shakespearean inferences from the fact; nor can I connect Shakespeare's name with that of a very different figure in the history of the age, very intimately associated with the fortunes of the Virginia Company—Nicholas Ferrar. What stranger combination could suggest itself in the records of mental effort than Change Alley and Little Gidding—and yet I think that Shakespeare himself might have supplied us with the key to the character of an excellent man of business, with a soul above earthly things. Nicholas Ferrar, whose father and brother had long been closely connected with the business of the Company, and whose family house had, so to speak, become the head-quarters of the progressive party in the Council, after a long spell of travel abroad, at first in the suite of the young Electress Palatine on her way out to her new home, had placed his extraordinary powers of observation and his singular quickness of resolve at the service of the Company, and as its Deputy-Treasurer was the chief and most trusted adviser of Southampton and Sandys, with whom he also acted in Parliament. He saved the Company's records, and had very nearly saved its Charter; and might, had he chosen, have played a considerable part in public life. But this prospect, together with the (shall I say) lesser temptations of a rich marriage and a mathematical professorship, he, as you know, sacrificed as readily as he had taken the responsibilities of his earlier career upon him, and, in the words of one of his biographers, gave 'a long farewell to the great and busy world'.¹ The life contemplative, which in its turn is not necessarily an idle life, and which so many greater and so many lesser men have desired, he achieved.

The above must, with a single exception which I feel sure you have already anticipated, suffice as to the personal relations—actual or possible—between the Virginia Company and the contemporary world of letters—more especially that part of it with which Shakespeare was in touch. For I have no wish to follow Professor Gayley or Mr. Alexander Brown into further conclusions or guesses of a personal kind in connexion with the subject,² based on researches

¹ *Life of N. Ferrar by Doctor Jebb* (Mayor's *Two Lives*, &c., 1855), p. 221.

² Mr. Gayley has something to say of the *Convivium Philosophicum* apostrophized (between 1608 and 1611) in amusing verse by Serjeant John Hoskins, which met at the Mitre Tavern, immediately in the rear of the house not long before inhabited by Hooker. This club included, among many legal wits of the

either in Fleet Street or in Warwickshire, where it is certainly attractive to find, in the near neighbourhood of Stratford, probable or possible acquaintances of Shakespeare, who were also leading adventurers in the Virginian enterprise.¹ The chief Warwickshire as

period, four who were members of the Virginian Council—among them the irrepressible Richard Martin. Another of its members was Hugh Holland, a travelled fellow of Trinity and convert to Rome, who was also a member of the Mermaid Club, and who prefixed a Sonnet to the First Shakespearean Folio. Though the Mitre is more easily reached from the Inner Temple, I am bound to add that the sister Society's historical connexion with the 'Founders of Liberty in America' was, on the whole, more intimate. Apart from Drake, who seems to have been connected with both Inns, the Middle Temple, besides including in its list of members other names well known in early colonial history, can also appeal to the tradition that Hakluyt first acquired his taste for geography and travel by a visit to the chambers there of his kinsman—Sir John Popham, afterwards Chief Justice, and a Bencher and Treasurer of the Inn—the relations of the latter to the Company were long and close, though not altogether to the credit of that legal luminary. Another Treasurer of the Middle Temple interested in the affairs of the Company was Miles (afterwards Sir Miles) Sandys, the younger brother of the Archbishop, and the uncle of Sir Edwin, who in 1589 joined the same Inn. Thomas Collett, a nephew of Nicholas Ferrar, too, was of the Middle Temple. Finally, the pamphlet *Virginia impartially examined* was composed in the interests of the Company by a barrister of that Inn, and is preserved in its Library. (See an interesting article in *The Times*, January 30, 1919, 'The Middle Temple and America', printed on the acceptance of the present U. S. Ambassador as a Bencher of the Inn; and cf., for additional data, *The Middle Temple and Sir Walter Raleigh*, speech by the Master of the Temple in the M. T. Hall on October 20, 1918.)

¹ Among these names there is one which must not be left unmentioned, at least in a note. Sir Fulke Greville (afterwards Lord Brooke, sat in Parliament as Knight of the shire for Warwickshire, together with Sir Thomas Lucy, and like him in the Protestant interest, and was a member of the Virginian Council from 1607. He had, in his earlier days, been the friend of Spenser and the comrade of Sidney. Though he was a politician who thought for himself, he held office both under Elizabeth and under her successor, and was in 1614 appointed to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer which he held till 1621. If he was a Liberal, his Liberalism was of no very advanced kind. His two tragedies, of which *Mustapha* is the better known, are described by Charles Lamb as 'political treatises rather than plays'; and his style is 'frozen with intellect', like the literary drama of most ages. As for Robert Rich the younger, his biography, admirably summarized by Professor Firth, covers a long and momentous period of both home and colonial history. The family feud originating, there can be no doubt, in the adulteries of his beautiful mother, Essex's sister Penelope, of whom reminiscences have, I conceive without good evidence, been sought in more than one production of Shakespeare's, broke out in a quarrel between Warwick and Lord Cavendish (afterwards Earl of Devonshire) supported by his friend and leader Sir Edwin Sandys, and must have contributed to bring about the appointment of the Commission on whose report the Virginia Company's Charter was annulled. Warwick was a member of the new (royal) Council for the Government of the Colony, in whose affairs and

well as Essex magnate of that day, Robert Rich, the second Earl of Warwick, was one of the most conspicuous figures in the history of the Company.

The real leader of the party in the Company to which, except on occasion, Warwick was adverse, and the foremost representative of its interests in the House of Commons where, for many years he held a leading position as the determined foe of arbitrary government, was Sir Edwin Sandys. His eminent name has inevitably been more than once mentioned by me already, while I have necessarily (to use a word much affected by his tutor Hooker) 'pre-supposed' a familiarity with the general character of his public career. The pedigree of his family is curiously complicated, but we need only note here that he was the second son and namesake of an Archbishop of York, who, in the troubled earlier half of Queen Elizabeth's reign managed, on the whole successfully, to combine strong Protestant sympathies with administrative vigour; the younger brother of Sir Samuel Sandys, ancestor of the Lords Sandys of Ombersley, a staunch friend of religious toleration; and the elder of George, the translator of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, whose career, especially if viewed in connexion with that of his more famous brother, is one of varied distinction.¹

those of the Somers Islands and other colonial companies he had taken a most active interest since he had succeeded to his father's dishonoured earldom, three years after the death of Shakespeare. (See as to his earlier activities A. P. Newton, *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans* (1914), pp. 34 ff.) Puritan in his leanings, he was out of sympathy with the Court, though he instigated its action against Sandys; and he leaves on us the general impression of one of those great personages in the world of commerce and finance who, aware of the claims of their epoch, in the main play for their own hand.

¹ He was long interested in the affairs of the Virginian Company, but finally (on being refused the post of Secretary to it) severed the connexion. In the colony itself, where he seems to have acquired a plantation, he appears to have made more enemies than friends; at home, the work by which he is chiefly remembered, is his *Translation*, which he in part completed 'amongst the roaring of the seas' and which can hardly have commended itself to the sympathies of the Puritan element in the popular party. He became a devoted adherent of King Charles I; but when, so late as 1638, he accepted the office of London agent of the Virginian Legislative Assembly, and sought to bring about a revival of the old self-governing Virginian Company in London, he was disavowed both by the Assembly and by the King (1642). George Sandys, who in his day was equally celebrated as a scholar and as a traveller, appears to have possessed something of the indefatigable energy, without the concentrated force, of his more famous brother. A singularly interesting feature in his biography is his intimacy with Falkland, the most attractive to many moderns, as he was to Clarendon, of the chief personalities of the Civil War (see J. A. R. Marriott's *Life and Times of Falkland*, second edition, 1908, pp. 84 ff.). For a pedigree of the whole Sandys family see Sir B. Burke's *Dictionary of the Landed Gentry* (1858), pp. 1060-1.

Sir Edwin Sandys, the central figure of a most memorable chapter of British constitutional history, is compendiously described by our standard authority on that period¹ as having 'without any pretensions to Bacon's genius, possessed a large fund of common-sense.' He likewise possessed, what in a politician is of at least equal value, very genuine moral courage; so that his political career as a whole did lasting honour both to his reputation and that of the party which acted with him, and to the teaching which was, beyond doubt, the chief formative force in at least his earlier intellectual and moral growth—the teaching of Richard Hooker. The principle of that teaching was formulated by Edward Burke in the words: 'The distinguishing part of our constitution is its liberty. . . . But the only liberty I mean is a liberty connected with order: that not only exists along with order and virtue, but which cannot exist at all without them',²—a definition which, most assuredly, would not have been spurned by Shakespeare. As is well known, the relations between Edwin Sandys and his friend George Cranmer (the son of a more celebrated but less fortunate Archbishop, who himself, after a short official career prematurely lost his life in Ireland) and their tutor at Corpus, Oxford, were of the closest intimacy, and have indissolubly linked their names with his. George Cranmer's literary association with Hooker's great work, and the relations between their ecclesiastical opinions, lie beyond our present scope. As for Sandys, whether or not he was, through his father, instrumental in obtaining for Hooker the Mastership of the Temple, his own public life began with his entry into Parliament in the year (1586) following on that of his tutor's appointment, and also marked by the commencement of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Sandys, it may be well to point out, in view of his later public action, was no Puritan; as is clear from the book which he completed in 1599, after a three years' continental journey with his friend Cranmer, and which he originally dedicated to Whitgift. This work, which was originally called *A Relation of the State of Religion*, and was afterwards reprinted under the more taking title of *Europae Speculum*, though strongly anti-Papalist (it was subsequently translated by no less a controversialist than Sarpi, who had doubtless been no stranger to its composition), is not incorrectly described by Professor A. F. Pollard³ as written in a tone remarkably tolerant for the time. What most interests us at the

¹ Gardiner, Vol. I, p. 185.

² Speech at his arrival at Bristol (1774), *Works*, 1852, Vol. III, p. 230.

³ In his excellent article on Sandys in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. I.

present day in Sandys's essay (though it possesses, also, general historic value) are the references in it to what, then as now, seemed hardly more than a speculative issue—the Réunion of 'at least the Reformed Churches'. The tolerance of Sandys's earlier religious views is not out of keeping with his later (1621) exposition, in the House of Commons, of the dangers with which the Protestant faith was threatened by the course of events on the continent, or even with his rather earlier support of the efforts of the British separatists (Brownists) at Leyden. These efforts, which Warwick also favoured, ended in the event which next year will be commemorated on both sides of the sea—the sailing of the *Mayflower* in September 1620, with a royal promise of freedom of religious worship to the intending settlers¹, the principle represented by whose advent was, after a long historical evolution, at last established in New England.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth, more perhaps than in any other century of our history, the motive of religious and of political history cannot be distinguished without difficulty. But with Sandys, as with the popular party headed by him during nearly the whole of the reign of James I, it may be said to have been political principle proper in which they found the directive force of their action. The object they had in view and at heart was constitutional government—in other words a system of political life based upon the consent of the governed. The data put together by Professor Gayley would, I think, suffice to prove this proposition, and to justify his further inquiry as to the measure in which this political conception was derived from, or at least in full consonance with, the teaching of Hooker. These data might, moreover, without difficulty be supplemented; and perhaps the most striking of them are crowded together in the brief notes of the debate on Inquisitions, held on May 21, 1614 (the arguments are not added) cited by Gardiner:²

'No successive King [i.e. no King by mere right of succession], but first elected. Election double, of person, and care; but both come in by consent of people, and with reciprocal conditions between King and people. That a King by conquest [i.e. who founds his title on such a claim as conquest, instead of on that of reciprocal agreement, actual or understood] may also (when power [i.e. when feasible]) be expelled.'

Ten years before this (in 1604), Sandys had drawn up the Report

¹ See Gardiner's stirring chapter, 'The Voyage of the *Mayflower*' in his fourth volume. It was largely owing to Sandys that a patent from the Virginia Company had been granted to the exiles.

² Vol. II, p. 240.

of the House of Commons Committee for the abolition of the King's feudal tenures; and, in 1610, he was member of a Committee for considering the 'Great Contract', whereby these rights were to be commuted for an annual grant to the Crown. An attempt to bring him over to the Court party having failed, he, as already noted, reached the height of his parliamentary position in the days of the Addled Parliament (1614), and after being at the dissolution of that Assembly summoned before the Council, and bound over to remain in London, he gave himself up, during the seven years in which Parliament remained unconvoked, to colonial affairs, and to those of Virginia in particular. He had, as we saw, taken a leading part in promoting the Company's Charters of 1609 and 1612, he had favoured the adoption, in 1616, of the system of land-tenure by which Dale had begun to base public prosperity upon private interest; and, after, in 1617, he had been appointed Assistant-Treasurer of the Company he was, in the following year, by a politic combination of parties, elected to the Treasurership. A thorough reform of the colonial administration followed. Though when in 1620, he was again proposed for the Treasurership, he, as we have seen, thought it more prudent to secure the election of his *alter ego*, Southampton, in his place, and though both of them, with their chief adherents, had to undergo some petty persecutions so late as 1621, their principles had prevailed in Virginia itself, and a great era of colonial history had thus set in. Sandys, whom we must leave at the height of his career, was not only a clear and free political thinker, but a practical administrator of great ability and vigour, intent upon keeping away from the colony the undesirable element of population which has so often been an ignominious drawback to the beginnings of colonial undertakings, and upon multiplying the industries on which the growth of its prosperity was largely to depend. But it is as a convinced constitutionalist that he has to be more especially remembered. Together with those who followed in his footsteps, he proved Gondomar to have shown some insight when warning King James that the Virginian Court in London would, in the end, be found a seminary for a 'seditious' parliament. In 1623, the new split in the Company already noted led to Sandys being once more placed under arrest (in his own house), and to the annulment of the Charter in the following year. But the colony retained the representative institutions which the action of Sandys—now near the close of his labours—had secured for it, and what was to prove the greatest part of his life's work was never undone.

That the political principles which he conspicuously applied to the

reorganization of the political life of Virginia were, in his case, to a notable extent directly derived from the teaching of Hooker, must, in view of the intimacy of the two men, and personal piety of the pupil towards the teacher, be *a priori* regarded as highly probable. Professor Gayley has, however, further undertaken to show, that the internal evidence as to the influence of Hooker's writings upon Sandys as a politician helps to establish the same conclusion; and I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion that, in this part of his argument, he has been indisputably successful.

The work on which Hooker's fame enduringly rests, the great treatise on *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, was begun at the Temple, where, as already noted, he had, in 1585, been appointed to the Mastership. Most of the Benchers had desired to see the Reader, Walter Travers, chosen in his stead; and, in accordance with the spirit—one might almost say with the demands—of their age, a lively controversy ensued between them.¹

But though, in this contest, Travers, like Hooker himself, had shown no personal rancour, the atmosphere of the Temple was for its Master inevitably one of continuous controversy, and, as it has been well put by Bishop Paget², it was this experience which led Hooker to write his famous treatise. In preparing it he was desirous of finding out why his opponents—including a single-minded divine such as Travers—'judged what he himself believed, revered and loved, to be corrupt and wrong.' The earliest books of the *Polity* were probably written at the Temple, before, in consequence of his wish for removal from this area of combat, he was presented by Archbishop Whitgift to the rectory of Boscombe near Salisbury, where he finished the first four Books, published in 1594. It is with the First Book, together with a few sections of the Second, that we are here principally concerned.³

¹ Travers had been commended by the late Master, 'Father Alvy', on his deathbed, and had been favoured by Burghley; while Whitgift, who would not hear of Travers and afterwards inhibited him, had at first suggested one of the Queen's Chaplains, Nicholas Bond (subsequently the subject of much abuse by Martin Marprelate) for the vacancy. The inhibition of Travers led to the proffer by him of a long Supplication, which it seemed incumbent on the new Master to answer; and Travers remained in the background till, in 1594, he became, for a short time, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

² In his *Introduction to the Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity* (second edition, Oxford, 1907), pp. 36 ff.

³ We have no present occasion for discussing the Preface to the work, prefixed to the first five Books when posthumously published in 1604, or the standpoint—that of resistance to the changes demanded by the *Puritan Book of Discipline*—which Hooker there assumes and elaborately defends, undertaking in reply to show

The First Book, then, addresses itself straightway to the great theme of Hooker's literary labours, towards which everything written by him, either within or outside the framework of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* converges—the fundamental idea of Law, with the consequences springing from this idea, and the argument that Law does not consist of the prescripts of arbitrary will, but is either identical with reason or a result of the application of it.¹

The particular application of these conclusions, which came home directly to men engaged in political life at home or in laying its foundations in other lands than that of which they were natives, are expressed, with perfect clearness, in a section of the First Book² which explains

‘how reason doth lead men unto the making of human laws whereby politic societies are governed, and to agreement about laws whereby the fellowship or communion of independent societies standeth. . . . Two foundations, we read, there are which bear up public societies; the one, a natural inclination, whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship; the other, an order expressly or secretly agreed upon touching the manner of their union in living together. The latter is that which we call the law of a commonweal, the very soul of a politic body, the parts whereof are by law held together, and set on work in such actions as the public good requireth.’

What have we here, in germ, but the idea of the Social Compact, the very foundation of the political philosophy of which Sandys and his party were the first parliamentary exponents, and on which was built up the constitutional life of Virginia and New England?

Of still more direct bearing upon the principles of government on which, in Virginia is the first instance, was based the political edifice that outlasted even the annulment of the Company's Charter by King James I, is another passage in the same section of the same Book.³ Here the assent of the governed is treated as indispensable to any system of government—notwithstanding the Aristotelean maxim of ‘a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous to govern them which are of servile disposition.’ The patriarchal

that there is probable ground for the existing law of ecclesiastical government, and no necessary reason against it.

¹ Thus (as Dean Church states the case in his masterly *Introduction to Book I*) ‘every law of God is a law of reason, and every law of reason is a law of God. Laws, which are of God, cover the whole field of venture . . . [and are] antecedent to Scripture, the supernatural law . . . There is no authority without reason: no just authority which cannot give its reason; no authority which is not at last based on reason which can be tested and verified’.

² Sec. x. 1.

³ Sec. x. 4.

principle or method having proved not to admit of application to so large a complex of families as that of which 'every politic society' in the world consists, no mode of exercise of complete lawful power was found possible except 'by consent of men, or by immediate appointment of God'. Over the latter alternative Hooker, considering the age at which he lived and wrote, passes with singular ease, noting how men recognized that 'to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery', and summing up, with the half-ironical conclusion :

'for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same [power] of himself, and not either by express commission, immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.'

The limitation conceded¹ that these laws shall be devised by 'none but wise men' is undeniably founded upon a very reasonable consideration, and, as we shall see, commended itself, for instance, to those who took so practical a view of politics as Shakespeare's. But it cannot be said to have found a definite place in any political constitution, however frequently it may have been attempted to establish 'aristodemocracy'—an excellent word—meant, I take it, to imply something very different from an oligarchy of rank, age, or wealth, or from the establishment of a balance of power between the few and the many—a solution recommended by Erasmus² and aimed at in not a few constitutions of the past. Hooker upholds popular government in no faltering terms;³ though it must be conceded that certain of the reasons suggested by him for adapting laws to the jealousies of the 'many-headed' have—may we venture to call it?—a Machiavellistic tinge. And even in the Eighth and last Book of his great work, written not long before his death in 1600, but not likely to have been left unread at least by his faithful friend and pupil Sandys (George Cranmer died in the same year), he adheres to his constitutional position. In this Book, the argument of which is designed to refute the Puritan contention that legal ecclesiastical dominion should not be allowed to any civil Prince or Governor, he describes the English monarchy as the pattern of a monarchy by law.⁴

¹ Sec. x. 8.

² In his *Institutio Principis Christiani*.

³ Sec. x. 9.

⁴ 'The axioms of our regal government are these : *Lex facit regem* ; the king's grant of any favour made contrary to the law is void : *Rex nihil potest nisi quod iure potest*.' Sec. ii. 13.

But the right of legislation, which implies the right of representation for legislative purposes, also implies that of resistance—with its not always avoidable or avoided consequence, the right of revolution. The right of Resistance, which Sandys and his party put into practice at home, and which was carried to its extreme consequences, both by the generation that followed on theirs at home and by the descendants of the colonists whom they had planted beyond the Atlantic, cannot, of course, be said to have been taught explicitly by Hooker; and to insist upon it would, it must be granted, have ill accorded with the essential spirit of his great treatise. Yet he certainly goes beyond the general maxim enunciated in his *First Book*,¹ that ‘to constrain men into anything inconvenient doth seem unreasonable’, when, towards the close of the same *Book*,² after appealing to Scripture in support of the principle that

‘the public power of all societies is above every soul contained in them’, he adds: ‘And the principal use of that power is to give laws unto all that are under it; which laws in such case we must obey, unless there be reason shewed which may necessarily enforce that the law of reason or of God doth enjoin the contrary.’

Neither Hampden nor Washington could have asked for more than this: and, in theory, though the truths may not all be of equal strength, the chain is without a break from Hooker to Locke, and from Locke to that true-born and bred Virginian, President Jefferson.

We may, then, I think, accept without much hesitation the conclusions reached by Professor Gayley as to the influence of Hooker’s political teaching upon the principles and action of the Makers of Virginia and of Sandys in particular. But what is to be our judgment of the further attempt to discover a direct connexion between that teaching and the political thought—to call it philosophy would almost be like begging the question—of Shakespeare? I may say, at once, that to the external evidence, or semblance of external evidence, on the subject accumulated by Professor Gayley I attach only a quite secondary importance. Shakespeare’s intimacy with Southampton is, of course, a fact beyond dispute; but it came to an end very soon after the publication (in 1593 or 1594) of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Of Shakespeare’s relations to Essex and his rebellion—the central incident of Southampton’s earlier life—we have already spoken: no serious attempt has ever been made to construe them into an indication of political sympathies. With Sandys and other members of his party in Parliament and in the Virginia Company

¹ Sec. x. 8.

² Sec. xvi. 6.

Shakespeare may have been in occasional contact—but further than this the external evidence in but a very few instances extends. It is perhaps strongest in the case of Pembroke and his brother Montgomery, whose private patronage Shakespeare certainly enjoyed. No directly personal relations of any kind seem traceable between Shakespeare and other earlier members of the Virginia Council or subscribers to the Company, though he may have met Lord Delaware at the *Mermaid*—a resort said to have been likewise frequented by Christopher Brooke, who was employed as draughtsman by the Company, in 1612 pleaded for the shareholders of the Blackfriars Theatre, and was a genuine admirer of the dramatist. I am at a loss to see between what other members of the Virginia Council or of the constitutional party in Parliament and Shakespeare more than a possible indirect connexion can be established. Mr. Gayley's account of the meetings at the *Mitre* is interesting enough, but the attempt to treat them as having afforded to Shakespeare 'a nucleus of associations, personal or literary', must be relegated into the realm of ingenious conjecture. Finally, it would be hazardous to draw any inferences as to the influence upon Shakespeare of the political principles which his Warwickshire acquaintances interested in Virginian colonisation may have imbibed from Hooker's teaching. There may have been some general affinity of thought or feeling on public matters between him in his later years and others besides Fulke Greville—but is it possible to say more?

On the whole, therefore, attractive as is the use to which Mr. Gayley has turned his many-sided researches, of which it has necessarily been impossible to furnish a complete account here, I cannot pretend to think that they carry us very far in the direction of the result to which he believes them to tend. I by no means imply that, taken together, they should be classed with those 'discoveries' as to Shakespeare's 'environment' as to which, without any prejudice to Mrs. Stopes's thorough and valuable studies, one might, as Sir Sidney Lee observes, 'as well say that Shakespeare had Huguenot views because he lodged in the house of a Huguenot refugee (an acquaintance which he may have owed to his fellow-townsmen Richard Field, whose wife was a Huguenot).' And even were it satisfactorily demonstrated that Shakespeare was well acquainted with all the noblemen and gentlemen connected with the Virginia Company between whom and him some kind of personal link can be discovered, it would not, of course, follow either that his way of thinking on political questions and issues was impregnated with theirs or that of their leaders, or, supposing this to have been

the case, that what he had thus derived was assimilated by him into a system of political thought or philosophy. Before adverting, in conclusion, to this latter hypothesis, will you bear with me while I rapidly attempt to inquire whether the former can be in any measure substantiated from Shakespeare's plays? ¹

May I, without plunging you into the maze of the chronology of Shakespeare's plays, venture to divide them, with the help of the instructive table recently printed by my friend Mr. William Poel,² into three groups? They correspond roughly to the periods of his life in which he was, successively, acquiring, together with a knowledge of his twofold profession, a growing experience of the world around him; at the height of his creative power and activity; and more at leisure to look back on a prosperous career and round upon human life and its varied problems. And may I reckon these divisions, as marked off by the dates at which his several plays were first produced, at the playhouses or at Court, as covering in turn the periods from 1591 to 1596, June 1595 to 1599 or 1600, and thence to the close?

In the earliest of these groups of plays, it will be remembered that Shakespeare is largely adapter rather than author, though his wit and wisdom naturally found their opportunities in his additions. The philosophy of Jack Cade in Part II of *Henry VI*, who prefers fighting to famishing (Act IV, sc. 10), is as purely dramatic as is that of the writer of *Sonnet LXIV*, who, in view of the topsy-turveydom of the world, 'cries for restful death'. Neither in *The Comedy of Errors* nor in *Love's Labour's Lost*—assuredly the two earliest Shakespearean comedies—shall we seek for a revelation of political or social thought, albeit in the latter play Armado addresses the 'Anointed' with no very reverent humility (Act V, sc. 2), and Costard, who has been derisively announced as a 'member of the Commonwealth' already plays with the term 'degree', which, as we shall see, became a favourite with Shakespeare in the wider sense of 'ordered system'—an idea never more forcibly expressed than by Hooker.³ Nor would a similar search be more successful in *The Two*

¹ In what follows I have mainly depended on my own reading, while not abstaining from making use of Professor Gayley's investigations.

² Table III in *Prominent Points in the Life and Writings of Shakespeare*, reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (Manchester University Press, 1919).

³ In Book I of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* he uses the word in the sense of 'kind' or 'sort' (sec. v. 2) and in the ordinary sense of 'steps' (sec. viii. 8). In the post-humous Preface he mentions university degrees. As to the *locus classicus* (sec. iii. 2) in which he dwells on the Law or Order of Nature, which Shakespeare in the

Gentlemen of Verona, although in this charming work are to be found the germs of so much later fruit; or in that feast of frolic and fun, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In *The Merchant of Venice*, a graver note is struck, and there is no need for recalling Portia's vindication of mercy as a more than royal prerogative. Curiously enough, the same play contains, in the speech of the Prince of Aragon (Act II, sc. 9), a reference to that regard for established political and social order which Hooker enjoins and which Shakespeare is never weary of enforcing, and to the necessity of making the tenure of 'estates, degrees, and offices' depend on merit only. The same opinion or sentiment recurs in the Gardener's speech in *Richard II* (Act III, sc. 4), a play probably produced at no very distant date from that of *The Merchant*.

Both *Richard II*, however, and the perhaps slightly earlier *King John* show how, after Shakespeare had once begun to fix his attention upon well-known characters and episodes of English history, he had become conscious of their bearing upon the political life of the nation in later periods, and in that of the actual production of his historical dramas in particular. National unity, and its correlative, the nation's power of determining its own destinies, are consistently recognized as the ideals which England, of all countries, is called upon to realize. In *King John*, spiritual and temporal authority confront each other in barren conflict, and the action ends on the note of self-sufficing patriotism, typically sounded by the Bastard Faulconbridge, whom it is hardly going too far to identify with the people of England—since national unity and sovereignty is the one thing he has, or they have, at heart.¹

This, however, it should be observed, does not amount to a system of political thought; and it seems to me useless to seek for hidden or secondary meanings where they are not to be found. Thus, the self-deception of the ill-fated Richard's assurance (Act III, sc. 2) that

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm off from an anointed king,

and his not less lofty denunciation of those who, like Northumberland, have been guilty of deposing him (Act IV, sc. 1) cannot, I feel sure, be regarded as reflecting ironically upon the doctrine of divine right. Nor can the Bishop of Carlisle's condemnation of subjects who dare

widest sense calls 'degree', see below; but I am not aware that Hooker himself ever uses the word with so special a significance. Of any metaphysical use of the term by either there can of course be no question.

¹ Mr. Morton Luce, a fine Shakespearean critic, has pointed this out.

to give sentence on their sovereign (*ib.*) be rightly described as an obvious attempt to buttress a falling cause by an obsolete theory. Such passages as these, of course, merely exemplify Shakespeare's unequalled dramatic power of making his personages speak in accordance with his conception of them. At the same time, we recognize here a striking advance upon the treatment of political history in the earlier *Richard III*, where Shakespeare takes over his chief character ready-made from popular (originally, of course, partisan) legend, and supplies no background to the action beyond what he has derived from the same lurid page. Yet this play, too—truly tragic, notwithstanding the dramatist's crude use of his historic material—rises to a lofty view of political morality to which Hooker would not have hesitated to subscribe, in a passage in which with the King's command is contrasted that of the King of Kings in the letter of His law.¹

So we may pass on to a group of plays belonging to the first years of Shakespeare's maturity as a dramatist and including some of the choicest gems of his poetic genius. Of political thought or commentary we shall find no trace either in *Romeo and Juliet*, though it brings home, with incomparable force, the dire ἀνάγκη of faction; nor, with a single exception,² is *All's Well that Ends Well*, a play which aesthetic criticism has in vain striven to redeem from neglect due to insuperable ethical repugnance. Far different is the case with *Hamlet*—the profoundest of all Shakespeare's dramatic creations—because the single personality and mental and moral experiences of the hero reflect those of humanity at large, and therefore those of the poet who created the character.³ Among these elements could not be missing the sense of man's responsibility to the community in which he has been placed by the accidents of birth and state—a responsibility of which he cannot free himself except by flying to

¹ Act I, sc. 4. This is the supernatural law which, according to *Eccl. Polity* (Bk. I, sec. xi), God has made known by Scripture. How futile, in the face of such a principle, is Richard's boast (Act V, sc. 3):

— the King's name is a tower of strength,
Which they upon the adverse faction want!

² This is the passage (Act I, sc. 2) illustrating by the simile of the beehive, the maxim that the prosperity of a community depends on the performance of his duties by every member of it. Cf. below, as to *Henry V*.

³ It is impossible here to attempt to distinguish between the recasts of the original old play. Perhaps I am assuming too late a date for the first Shakespearean revision, which Mr. J. Dover Wilson's recent discussion of the bibliographical side of the subject shows good reason for dating about June 15, 1593.

the unknown (Act III, sc. 1).¹ For the rest, our human nature was not planned by the Creator so carefully, 'with such large discourse,' (a word much affected, in this sense, by Hooker), in order that we should abstain from exerting the reason implanted in us (Act IV, sc. 4). From this source must be drawn our principles of duty towards the State and its highest authority. To flatter royalty to the top of its bent may befit the servility of a Rosencrantz (Act III, sc. 3); while the belief in 'the divinity that doth hedge a King' may be fairly taken as a proof of the self-confidence, rather than of the theoretic principles, of the regicide Claudius (Act IV, sc. 3). The remarks which, towards the close of the play, Hamlet drops in a cynical mood, as to the inconvenient levelling spirit of the age (Act V, sc. 1), and as to the hazards of the hindmost (Act V, sc. 2), cannot be held to illustrate Shakespeare's anti-democratic tendencies, since they are merely utterances natural to a personage born and bred among the exclusives.

To a time not very remote from the production of *Hamlet*, as first revised by Shakespeare, also belongs that of both parts of *Henry IV* and (though at what point in the sequence of the other Falstaff plays, if in that sequence at all, the present is not an occasion for discussing²) of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. The last-named hurriedly composed farce, said with some internal probability to have been written in a fortnight so as to comply with a foolish wish of Queen Elizabeth's, offered no opportunity for the expression of serious thought, although the genius of Shakespeare found one for the depiction of a most serious passion (jealousy). But with Part I of *Henry IV* Shakespeare resumed the series of his national Histories, putting into dramatic form the narrative of the epoch of national life preceding the Tudor age, in which his own lot was cast, and to which the first two Lancaster reigns had bequeathed some of their most vital national traditions. Where, if not in the *Henry IV* plays, and in their sequel *Henry V*, could the dramatist, had such been his purpose, have found apt occasion for laying down the principles on which may be securely established a monarchy at once popular and strong, and fit to prove victorious both over factions at home and over foreign foes? And, in truth, none of Shakespeare's plays are so

¹ I confess myself unable to follow Professor Gayley in tracing an analogy between Hamlet's statement of the great dilemma, and refusal to accept it, and a very notable passage in *Ecclesiastical Polity* (Book I, sec. x, 9) already cited and offering a shrewd counsel to framers of constitutions.

² Cf. Mr. J. M. Robertson's ingenious essay *The Problem of the Merry Wives of Windsor*, published by the Shakespeare Association, 1917.

truly national and so truly popular as these, whether in their serious or in their comic scenes and characters; nor can any be said so constantly, as it were, to invite the dramatist to impart, in however concrete a form, his ideas concerning the forms and methods of government best suited to England and to Englishmen. It may be worth while to note, with a certain measure of detail, after what fashion he responds to the invitation.

The First Part of *Henry IV* exhibits the conflict of faction at its height, engulfing in its fury not only doughty champions of the one or other side, but 'ancient lords and reverend bishops'. Few can pause, like Sir Walter Blunt (Act IV, sc. 3), to apply the infallible principle that they cannot be right who stand against anointed majesty. Before the final struggle, Worcester and King Henry enter as it were into statement against statement—faction putting its case against faction (Act V, sc. 1); and it is noticeable that, with all his denunciation of rebellion, the King assents to the trial by combat offered by the Prince to Hotspur, although, on gaining the victory, he once more commands the suppression of rebellion everywhere (sc. 5). In the Second Part, we have a singularly animated picture of political disturbance and its remedies. In the opening scene, Northumberland's despair takes the form of resignation to anarchy, which is the direct contradiction of that Order which is Heaven's first law ('let order die!' and cf. *Eccl. Polity*, Bk. I, ii. 3, and the famous passage in iii. 2 referred to below). The Archbishop of York essays to convert rebellion into 'religion' (Act I, sc. 2), while expecting that the 'fond many', the 'common dog' which 'disgorged' King Richard, will now be ready to desert its favourite, Bolingbroke (sc. 3). King Henry treats his present trouble as a necessity, as it was a necessity that compelled him to become great (Act III, sc. 1); the Archbishop pursues his private quarrel with the grievance against the King under cover of the commonwealth's complaints against him (Act IV, sc. 1). In the end, the leaders of the rebellion having been tricked to their doom (Act IV, sc. 2), the King's task is achieved. He bequeaths to his son, with his hard-won crown, the policy he has intended to pursue of distracting attention from home quarrels by foreign expeditions (Act IV, sc. 5); and it is with an injunction of loyal adherence to established institutions and national self-confidence whether for war or for peace, that the new reign sets in (Act V, sc. 2).

In *Henry V* it is impossible to mistake the dramatist's satisfied and almost joyous consciousness that the age of faction, which corroded the vital strength of the people, has been superseded by that of

internal unity, intent only on some great national achievement. One more attempt at rebellion is cast off, as it were, in passing and without either hesitation or difficulty, as with a firm step, King Harry continues on his course: 'Now, lords, for France!' (Act II, sc. 2). The State is so well protected that

While that the armèd hand doth fight abroad,
The advisèd head defends itself at home

(Act I, sc. 2); on which there follows another of those noteworthy passages in which Shakespeare dwells on the benefits of ordered government, where all parts 'high and low and lower', 'keep in one consent'. The Archbishop of Canterbury carries on the thought by comparing the 'order of a perfect kingdom' to that of a beehive, in a passage which Mr. Gayley is no doubt right in thinking to have been adapted from Lyly's *Euphues and his England* (p. 262 in Arber's *Reprints*, 1868), but which may not the less be taken as indicating the poet's own way of thinking. (Cf. for the same simile *ante*, as to *All's Well that Ends Well*.) Borne along, as it were, on the crest of such high thoughts, the immediate action of the play rises to the height of its ulterior purpose; and, as 'model to her inward greatness', England 'like little body with a mighty heart', after shaking off from herself all unkindly elements, enters on her great enterprise (cf. Chorus to Act II). But the unity on which this England's strength depends is not a unity of bondsmen under a despot; the King's subjects stand by him as by one who, in the hour of supreme effort, calls those who join in it with him 'brothers' (Act IV, sc. 3); each does his duty, and does it gladly. This seems, after all, the simple moral of the famous nocturnal exchange of theories of allegiance between King Harry and privates Bates and Williams (Act IV, sc. 1). The King deduces from the views of the soldier the overwhelming conclusion that, with no recompense but that of 'ceremony', the King has to bear the whole responsibility, moral and material, of the deeds done in his name. Private Williams's doubts remain unsatisfied—the answer to them being, of course, that in a well-ordered political community every subject (or every 'national', in the jargon of our own day) has his share of responsibility for public acts to bear, as the King has his, without 'the soul' of either remaining any the less his own. The phrase, thus understood, is, indeed, a bond of brotherhood, which holds firm in battle, prayer preceding, and thanksgiving following, and the glory of victory being ascribed to God alone (Act IV, sc. 8). The wonderful poetic grace (if it may be so called) with which patriotism is here merged in piety (a dis-

inctive future in the historic Henry V) must not be enlarged upon here.

Curious, however, as it may seem, it is not in these great dramas, in closest contact though they are with English history, but in a tragi-comedy wholly detached in subject from the national life, that occur Shakespeare's most notable utterances on topics falling within the range of political science or philosophy. Whether or not *Troilus and Cressida*, as it has come down to us, represents a later version of an earlier play, and whether it was into this version that a satirical design was first infused, must remain a matter of conjecture, on which the date, or dates, of its composition must depend; but we may here treat it as a play produced much about the same time as the Histories of which we have been speaking, however different from them in general conception and design. In one of those camp-scenes, in which the English dramatist contrived to add interest to his Homeric model (Act I, sc. 3), Ulysses discusses the reason why little or no progress has been made, during seven years, with the siege of Troy. It is to be found, he says, in the neglect, among the Greek force, of the 'specialty of rule', and in the play allowed there to 'hollow factions'. When the general¹ is not like the hive to which all return from their expeditions, what honey can be expected? From this simile, also, as we have seen, employed in *All's Well that Ends Well* and in *Henry V*, Ulysses passes on to a most remarkable exposition of the doctrines of *degree* or order, as conditioning the organic life of communities, whether political or other.² There is an unmistakable parallelism between this passage and one in the *Ecclesiastical Polity* (Book I, iii. 2), which had certainly been written, and was probably published, before the production of *Troilus and Cressida*. This parallelism is no discovery; it had already, as Mr. Gayley notes, been pointed out by Verplanck. At the same time, Shakespeare's lines are anything but a copy of Hooker's prose, which in this instance reaches an unsurpassed magnificence. The speech of Ulysses in the play, as Mr. Gayley demonstrates in a special Appendix, is equally indebted to Chapman's Translation of the *Iliad*, of which the Second Book had appeared in 1598, and to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. From a passage in Ulysses's speech in Chapman's First Book Shakespeare may have transferred the repeated pregnant employment, in this instance, of

¹ It is tempting to explain this to mean 'the army'; but in the same speech the word occurs in the sense of the 'commander'.

² Shakespeare never tired of the word, or of the idea which he connected with it. See *The Winter's Tale* (Act II, sc. 1).

the term 'degree'. In another passage, near the end of the Third Book of the same poem, to which Shakespeare must have had resort, Chaucer reproduces a passage from his own translation of Boëthius *de Consolatione*, in which he treats Love, not Law, as the great organ of cosmic cohesion.

At this point, however, I must frankly express my regret at not being able to follow Mr. Gayley further in his deductions from this investigation. It seems by no means unlikely that Shakespeare's strong sense of the value of political order and enduring social organization was strengthened by his having become acquainted with such passages as those cited above. That in Chaucer he cannot but have read; that in Hooker might very well have come before his eyes. But we are unable to find herein any indication that, so far as either *Troilus and Cressida* or *Coriolanus* (as to which immediately) is concerned, Shakespeare was writing in anything like conscious agreement with the ideas which Sandys and others were seeking to constitute the bases of self-government in Virginia. Mr. Gayley cautiously admits that Shakespeare was not referring to America; and it may be as well to pretermit all suppositions as to his direct cognizance of, or sympathy with, 'the movement for liberty in the New World as at home'.¹

It would lie beyond the bounds of my immediate purpose to enter here into a further inquiry, to which Mr. Gayley invites us in a special Appendix, into the question (if it be such) of Shakespeare's indebtedness to the ethics and psychology, as distinct from the political and social philosophy, of Hooker. The particular play of *Troilus and Cressida*, as well as certain other plays—notably *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*—no doubt contain passages to which *analogia* may be pointed out in divers sections of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. But, to use Mr. Gayley's own very appropriate query, must counterparts be found 'for reflections which might be common to the thought of the age?'

¹ By the way, in this very play of *Troilus and Cressida* (Act III, sc. 3) Ulysses declares, quite in the fashion of diplomacy after the school of Metternich, that

There is a mystery, with whom relation
Durst never meddle, in the soul of state;
Which hath an operation more divine
Than breath or pen can give expressure to.

It is amusing to find, in an interesting essay *On the Conception and Method of the History of States* by the eminent historian Fournier, the conclusion drawn that there are certain limits to all insight into the nature of states beyond which demonstration must give way to hypothesis, and that this is the *ultra posse* to which Shakespeare refers in the above passage.

The last group of Shakespearean plays, belonging, in date of production, to the period from 1600 (or thereabouts) onwards might, *a priori*, be expected to have presented more abundant results of observation and imagination, as applied to political and social phenomena. But, as we call them to mind in something like their probable chronological order, we find such elements of the kind as they contain even more variously and 'antithetically mixed'. The irresistible humour and deep incidental pathos of *Much Ado about Nothing*, at the first performance of which assuredly 'there was a star danced', cover nothing political; for to interpret Hero's comparison of 'favourites made proud by princes' (Act III, sc. 1) as referring to Essex, suits the date better than what we know of the personal relations of the author.¹ Still less productive would be the search for such an element in the most purely poetical of all Shakespearean dramas, the enchanting *As You Like It*, all 'made of passion and all made of wishes', and, we might add, 'all purity'—or in *Twelfth Night*, which combines with many beauties a curious study in psychology.²

With *Julius Caesar* we, from our present point of view, reach more interesting ground. While it would be difficult to trace in this stirring tragedy instances of comparative or, still more so, of constructive, political thought, Sir Sidney Lee is justified in pronouncing the entire drama a penetrating study of political life. Circumstances and personal character, no doubt, here determine the adoption and maintenance of particular political opinions; but these are held and expressed with perfect distinctness, and together illustrate the chief party divisions both of the period of action, and of wider divisions of history. In his first great dialogue with Brutus (Act I, sc. 2), Cassius harps upon the argument that in a republic *one* great man must not be suffered to predominate—an argument suited to the atmosphere of a mixed policy which allows a share in its government to a 'breed of noble bloods' rather than to that of a democracy pure and simple. Again, it is the recognition of Caesar as King from which Brutus shrinks as from an invitation to his great friend to

¹ The late Mr. R. Simpson, accordingly, thought it referred to the Cecils.

² The interest attaching from this point of view, and also from that of his Puritan features, to Malvolio has been frequently noted. It must be added that there is an unmistakably—shall we say undemocratic—tone in this, as in some other Shakespearean plays. The unhappy Malvolio is only a steward, after all; Viola-Sebastian is 'a gentleman. I'll be sworn thou art' (Act I, sc. 5). Even the hero of *Timon of Athens* (Act. IV, sc. 3) draws a distinction between his own misanthropy and that of a 'slave' who has not known the 'sweet degrees that this brief world affords'—to the privileged classes.

endanger the safety of the State (Act II, sc. 1). Caesar himself is all amiability to the conspirators when they wait on him to salute him (*ib.*, sc. 2); but hardly has he set foot in the Senate house when he justifies their design by a tyrannical 'Know, Caesar doth not wrong', and expounds at length his theory of personal monarchy (Act III, sc. 1). In the speeches of Brutus after the deed is done, its motive cause, Caesar's ambition to be King, is dwelt upon as persistently, as the mention of it is avoided by Antony. It was 'for justice sake'—i.e. for the sake of pure political principle—that, as Brutus declares 'great Caesar bled' (Act IV, sc. 3); and, on the liberator's death, his adversary Antony acknowledges that, of all the conspirators, Brutus alone was actuated by

a general honest thought
And common good to all (Act V, sc. 5).

To re-read this wonderful play is to perceive that it is not a people freeing itself from oppression whom we are here taught to honour, but a knot of 'men that gave their country liberty' (Act III, sc. 1), and among them 'the noblest Roman'—and the most consistent Liberal *doctrinaire*—'of them all'.

In *Measure for Measure* we have a drama, next in date of production to *Julius Caesar*, which, in a very different way, indicates its author's attentiveness to political problems, though unaccompanied by any endeavour to solve them with convincing completeness. The opening lines—

Of government the properties to unfold
Would seem in me to affect speech and discourse¹—

apprise us that the opportunity of political demonstration offering itself will not be taken.² For the rest there is, as has been pointed out by Sir Sidney Lee, little in the play, which seems to have been one of the dramatist's first personal offerings to the Court, that suggests a wish to commend it there by its political or social sentiments. To be sure, the Duke's abhorrence of mobs, despite his love for his people (Act I, sc. 1), and Angelo's expression of the same dislike of seeing royalty crowded (Act II, sc. 4) may have appealed

¹ A favourite word, as already noted, in the sense of 'reasoning', with Shakespeare as with Hooker.

² The Duke's commission to Angelo, by the way, is sufficiently broad and elastic. He is, like the Duke himself,

So to enforce or qualify the laws
As to your soul seems good (Act I, sc. 1).

What benevolent despot could claim a more complete authority?

to King James I, who hated that sort of company almost as much as did King Louis II of Bavaria. The most beautiful passage in Isabella's appeal to Angelo, and in the whole play, is based, not on political, or even on mere ethical, principle, but on the profoundest teaching of Christianity.

Othello, which might almost be called the unequalled early exemplar of domestic tragedy, neglects its chance of referring, or alluding, to the Venetian system of government, a subject of constant interest to many Englishmen (Nicholas Ferrar among them) in the age of its commencing decline. *Macbeth*, psychologically the most directly powerful of Shakespeare's tragedies, had the secondary purpose in gratifying the pride of Malcolm's reigning descendant; but, apart from this, it is surely 'stretching a point too far' to find in the play—we presume in Macduff's indignant protest after the prince's fictitious self-accusation (Act IV, sc. 3)—a repudiation of the doctrine of the right divine of kings. Even the direct reprehension of those who flatter kings in *Pericles* (Act I, sc. 2) will hardly bear such a construction. Contrariwise, the thought of the sovereign as father of *all* his people suggests itself with extraordinary force in *King Lear*. The greatest of all tragedies of pity contains no more touching passage than that in which the royal outcast bethinks himself of the 'poor naked wretches' of whose condition he has taken 'too little care' (Act III, sc. 4). With the storm without and the storm within, this is a divergence from personal grief into sociological thought to which Philoctetes could have hardly risen.

There remain the plays of the final period. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, as in *Julius Caesar*, the chief personage of the tragedy is still of heroic type—a head and shoulders, as the phrase is, over common men, though not 'a colossus', like his chief of old. But Antony, as it is borne in upon us from the first, is a falling, and soon will be a fallen, star, unable to master a world like Julius Caesar, or even to keep a hold over his third part of it. Thus, though hardly any other Shakespearean play is more full of shrewd political as well as of psychological observation,¹ no handle is sought or found for the introduction of political thought or principle. Shakespeare's contempt for the voices of the multitude reappears

¹ See, e. g., the remark of the politic general Ventidius—the prototype of many a celebrated general who has followed the same rule of conduct—that principals do not like to be surpassed by those holding a command under them (Act III, sc. 1). Or see the scene in which Sextus Pompeius declines to do the deed, though he will gather in the fruits (Act II, sc. 7). It is unnecessary to do more than refer to the psychological insight of the *Cleopatra* scenes.

more emphatically than ever, and finds summary expression by the great politician who, in the end, masters all the factions—Caesar Augustus himself. ‘It hath’, he says, ‘been taught us from the primal state,’ that ‘in the common body’ there is naught but instability and fickleness (Act I, sc. 4). Why, we seem half-tempted to ask, be at the pains of winning such a world?

Whether or not later in date of production than *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus* exhibits the same maturity of dramatic conception and execution, and more compactness of construction; while, with regard to our present subject of inquiry, it displays more clearly than any other of Shakespeare’s plays his ways of thought on political life. This tragedy has been asserted to have been intended to demonstrate how the best form of government is equally free from the control of aristocratic arrogance and from subjection to the turbulence of the populace. But this view overlooks the circumstance that, while Coriolanus himself is by nature imperious and overweeningly self-confident, so that he

fails in the disposing of those chances
Which he was lord of (Act IV, sc. 7),

the other Patricians, and Menenius, the very embodiment of sagacity, in particular, share his political opinions, and only differ from him under the pressure of circumstance; whereas the motives of the Tribunes are as mean as their ways are crooked, and the minds of the many-headed are feeble and swayed to and fro by every successive gust. Although the dramatic conflict is thus, in its essence, ethical, no attempt is made to conceal the political bias of its presentment. Indeed, the pride of Coriolanus who ‘speaks of the people’, as if he were, not merely a superior mortal, but ‘a god’ (Act III, sc. 1), is designedly coloured so highly that it contrasts with a reasonable opposition to democratic principles. In return, Coriolanus himself raises an interesting question of political history when (in the same scene) he compares the Roman with the Greek (Athenian) constitution, to the disadvantage of the former, from the anti-democratic point of view. The guilt of Coriolanus was a moral guilt—his pride; that he aimed at tyranny was a mere pretence of his enemies the Tribunes (Act III, sc. 3), whose own patriotism was one that ‘rack’d for Rome, to make coals cheap’ (Act V, sc. 1); but the far greater wrong which he commits by drawing his sword against his country, though he seeks to undo what he has begun, is inexpiable, and takes his case quite out of the range of mere politics.

In the super-romantic drama of *Cymbeline* the accumulation of incident—probable and improbable, even to monstrosity—yet leaves room both for striking narrative passages and for others of interest to ‘statists’ (cf. Act II, sc. 4) or for conveying fine thoughts and sentiments, alike extremely undemocratic.¹ *The Winter’s Tale*, which internal evidence places very late in the list of Shakespeare’s plays, is not without a certain lengthiness which would help to defeat any effort to find in it instances of the assertion of definite political principles. The loyal Camillo refuses to obey his sovereign’s command to murder his royal guest, even if he could find example of thousands who had found themselves none the worse for an act of regicide (Act I, sc. 2); and King Leontes, while he nakedly advances the claims of absolute monarchy, opines that after all, the main thing is to possess the power.² Yet here and there, in the lovely pastoral scenes, glimpses are to be found of that lesson of equality which beneficent Nature herself teaches:

The self-same sun that shines upon his court
Hides not his visage from our cottage (Act IV, sc. 4).³

And so, whether or not we may regard it as an established fact that *The Tempest* in its final form dates from 1613, we come once more to what no lover of Shakespeare will care to regard as other than his last play. We have seen that the opening of *The Tempest*, original in every other sense of the word, was beyond all doubt taken from a Virginian letter, and that Caliban knew something of the troubles of the early English settlers in the colony. But, as a whole, this wonderful play, from which, if from any of Shakespeare’s dramas, we might feel inclined to draw general conclusions as to his world of thought in the maturity of his genius, contains no reference to politics—or for that matter, to religion, with which in this age, more than in any other, politics were so unintermittently blended. At Milan, Naples, and no doubt in other ‘residential’ capitals, Duke

¹ e. g. Clay and clay differ in dignity
Where dust is both alike (Act IV, sc. 2),

with the reflections of Belarius on the ‘invisible instincts’ which ‘framed’ his two princely wards to ‘royally unlearn’d’; and the tribute to ‘reverence the angel of the world’, which ‘doth make distinction of place between high and low’. ‘Consider’ writes Hooker, in a famous passage (*Eccl. Pol.*, Bk. I, sec. iv, 2), ‘the Angels of God associated and their law is that which disposeth them as an *army*, one in order and degree above another.’

² See Act II, sc. 1, as to his ‘prerogative’, and *ib.*, sc. 3, as to his being called a tyrant.

³ As well as of the social satire which always commends itself to the lowly: ‘Not swear it,’ says the Clown, ‘now I am a gentleman?’ (Act V, sc. 2).

succeeds Duke and King follows upon King, as Amurath to Amurath succeeds, and the people are of little or no account. The enchanted island, indeed, is unpeopled; though on shipboard, even in the storm, occasions arise for differences between passengers and crew. Thus, questions of constitution, land-tenure, employment, and the like, in the island are mere Utopian visions, without any reference to Milan, or Great Britain, or (as Mr. Gayley is half-disposed to suggest) to 'the Virginian fiasco'—the fiasco, i.e., which Virginia escaped through the reforms of Dale and Gates.

The present paper has extended to so great and (probably) to so wearisome a length, that a very brief deduction from its concluding survey is all that I can ask leave to add. Concerning the politics of Shakespeare I have long held a view that has been confirmed by more than one recently published study of his life and art—free from what I will venture to call the pedantry of certain earlier schools of Shakespeare criticism, which deserve that censure precisely where they claimed to set up criteria best suited to the requirements of superior minds. First and foremost, we should always remember that Shakespeare is the greatest of dramatic artists, and that whatever principle, maxim, or experience finds utterance in his plays should be read in the light of the *dramatis personae* from whom it proceeds—be this Hamlet or Polonius, or any less complex character than either of these. It is they who speak—and think—in the first instance, and not the author of their being. In the second place, Shakespeare was an incomparable observer, not only of the ways of men and women, but of their thoughts and feelings, and of those that had found utterance in the speech or writings of his own and former generations of Englishmen, in which politics past and present always had a large share; and both for the cutting and for the setting of these 'gems' (as our later ancestors and ancestresses loved to call them in their collections) his was a master-hand beyond that of any other English writer. Finally, however, let us allow that the very nature of his art as a dramatist, doubled as it was with that of actor, offered him constant opportunities of giving play to his personal beliefs and convictions, preferences and prejudices in this, as well as in other fields of comment or exemplification; and that, though we know him to have possessed the quality of reserve which is characteristic of all great minds, and which, moreover, the circumstances of his personal career imposed upon him, he was at the same time conspicuous for the freedom of discourse which (we shall agree) is, likewise, at all events a frequent sign of greatness. Thus he was always patriotic, and always—not only when he wore scarlet as

a member of King James's household—loyal; while the conditions of his profession made him dependent upon great nobles, whose ways and manners it was but natural for him to prefer to those of popular throngs. He was—could he help it?—an aristocrat by nature; but he was no follower of party, faction, or sect. The idea of an antithesis between moral duties and political principles had not occurred to him; and in his judgement of the course of public affairs, as in the conduct of his own manhood, he stood, one and whole, in Church and State, steadfastly on the side of degree or Order, the dispensation of God to man, and therefore on the side of Ordered Freedom, as against that of the inevitable sequence of faction, tyranny, and mob-rule. Whether and in whatever proportions he and the Makers of Virginia had learnt these convictions from the same great teacher, they, like him, had derived them from the same ever-flowing Source.

In this inquiry I may seem to have left aside one aspect of the relations between the Makers of Virginia, on the one hand, and Hooker and Shakespeare, on the other. But the question whether the plays of Shakespeare in any way reflect the interaction between the Puritan movement, in its successive phases, and English life and thought in the period of his chief productivity, I must leave over for discussion on a subsequent opportunity, and by a more competent lecturer.

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